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"CHILD OF THE LEOPARD SKIN" PRINCIPLE: AN EXPOSITORY ANALYSIS OF ROYAL SUCCESSION AMONG THE WIMBUM OF THE NKAMBE PLATEAU OF NORTHWEST CAMEROON

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Abstract
Succession is central to the survival of the African kingship tradition. African kingship tradition abounds with a variety of succession principles. Peoples and kingdoms are easily distinguished from one another on the basis of how they select and enthrone their kings/chiefs. Kingship succession principles practiced in Africa include rotation, election, gerontocracy and the father/son inheritance principle. Each of these principles comes with noticeable variants. For example, the Wimbum of the Nkambe Plateau of Northwest Cameroon practise the "child of the leopard skin" variant of the father/son inheritance principle. The "child of the leopard skin" succession principle demands that for someone to succeed to the throne of the kingdom, he must be one who was conceived by his mother when his father was king. This paper seeks to examine this unique variant.

Introduction

Succession is the key guarantor of the survival of kingship systems. In Africa where kingship is still greatly valued and venerated, succession determines both the present and the future of the kingdom, whether big or small. Each kingdom has its succession principle which should be followed each time there is a vacancy on its throne. These principles, some of which have been kept from the foundation of kingdom, are based on agreements by the founders of the kingdom. It has been observed that where there are succession disputes, as is the case in some kingdoms in Africa, the adherence or non-adherence to succession principles more often than not would be at the origin of such conflicts or disputes.

Succession principles vary from one kingdom or society to another. The most common succession principles practised here and there in Africa include rotation, election, gerontocracy/seniority, and father-son inheritance. Each of these comes with different variants as one move from one kingdom, society or region to another. The father-son inheritance principle appears to be most popular on the African continent.

Though popular, the father-son principle where it is practised, still faces some constraints. The practice of polygamy which is the popular characteristic of most royal families in Africa, may throw up some contradictions which would make royal succession problematic in most kingdoms. For example, where a disease king had many sons from different wives, the task of choosing a successor could become a herculean task for the 'king makers'. The "child of the leopard skin" succession principle as practised by the Wimbum, is a variant of the father-son succession principle, which attempts to reduce the succession problems that their kingdoms face each time a royal father dies. This paper attempts to present and trace the origin of the "child of the leopard skin succession" principle as practised by the Wimbum.

Conceptual Clarification

There is the need to identify and clarify a few names and terminologies such as Tikar/Tikari, Wimbum and leopard skin that run through this essay so as to aid understanding and remove doubt.

The name *Tikar* (*Tikari, Tikali, Tikare, Tike*), refers to a number of groups of people who claim to have migrated from the Borno area, south-west of Lake Chad. Tikar migrations took two directions one to Takum and the Donga valley and the other to

Ndobo, called Kimi. (Jeffreys, 1962, p148) In Cameroon, there are a large number of groups who claim to have migrated to their present abode on the northwest grasslands from the Tikar homeland of Tibati (popularly called Ndobo or Kimi), north and north-east of their present territory. (McCulloh, 1954, p20) In addition to the Wimbum, the list of Tikar claimants include Bamoum, Bangolan, Baba, Bamessing, Bamessi, Bamali, Nkwen, Bambili, Bafut, Nso, Rom, Ntem, Mbem, Kom, Oku and Ndop.(Nkwi and Warnier, 1982, p. 12).

The *Wimbum* who today number about half a million, are composed of three distinct clans, Warr, Wiya and Tang. They are a Bantu Tikar sub-group, found on the Western Cameroon grasslands, on the Nkambe Plateau in the North West Province of Cameroon, sharing a common border with Taraba State of Nigeria. The Wimbum, who speak *Limbum*, a Bantu language belonging to the Mbam-Nkam group of languages, claim to have migrated from Kimi. Kimi is seen to have been part of the Mbum people now occupying the territory near Ngaoundere, who claim to have migrated from Bornu, south-west of Lake Chad. This explanation links the Wimbum to the *Tikars* who are said to have been led in their migration out of Bornu by the Mbum. (Jeffreys, 1962, p. 186).

Leopard skin refers to the pelt of the leopard. The 'leopard skin' as used by Wimbum royalty must have the fur or hair on it, showing the beautiful designs as are found on the body of the leopard.

African Kingship Succession Principles

Rotation, gerontocracy/seniority, election and hereditary succession are amongst the most popular succession principles practiced in Africa.

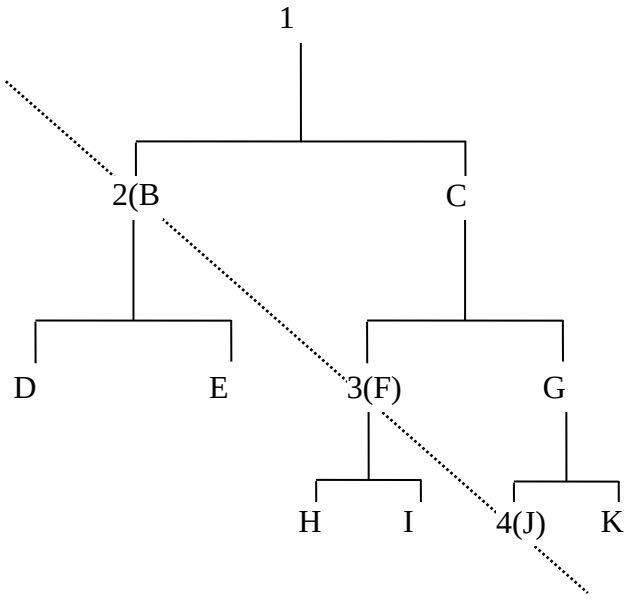
Prowess: This is the practice where the throne is given to an achiever. Among the Oron of Southeast Nigeria, Uya, (1984, p42) observes that those who became chiefs were people "with great reputation for honesty, integrity, impartiality and above alltremendous wealth.... would have performed the *Inam*, a ceremony of achievement expressed in the form of enormous wealth." Among the Ibo of eastern Nigeria, where rulership was based on the 'clan system', the prowess criterion was used by British colonialists where they could not find chiefs to appoint them. (Ward, 1995, p318-319)

Rotation: The rotation succession principle is the practice where as in the case most kingdoms/emirates of western, central and northern Nigeria different families within the royal lineage rule in turn following a rotation order. (Nkwi and Warnier, 1982, p20) The Nso kingdom of North West Cameroon has two ruling families. Bida Emirate of central Nigeria broke up into three ruling houses after the death in 1833 of Etsu Dendo. (Aliyu 1998, p. 40).

In kingdoms practicing the rotation principle, how hard it gets for an interested prince to get to the throne would depend on the number of houses in the royal family. Thus even when the pattern of rotation is known and respected, the choice within the family whose turn it is to produce the king would throw up other challenges. There may be a need to choose from among candidates drawn from the sub-units of the house or directly from among the children of the last king to rule from that house, depending on the tradition that has been set. The common feature in the rotation principle is that the link between a chief/king and his successor is an 'uncle-nephew' relationship. (Ibid) (See Figs I & II)

Gerontocracy/seniority: This is the principle by which "the oldest man in the lineage whose turn it is to rule is appointed chief."(Erim 1981, p159) Such a system makes the length of reigns quite short. Henige David observes that with the seniority principle "the chief will probably be elderly and his period of rule will be relatively brief." (Henige 1971, p131) In the case of the Kom of northwest Cameroon, such an old man would have risen up to the second highest title in the land, waiting for the day when he would become king. The main feature of this practice is that it makes for peaceful and smooth transition, given that the path to the throne is defined. The heir must have climbed

FIG. I: ROTATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF SUCCESSION – TWO RULING HOUSES
(Practised by the Nso (Cameroon) and Lapai(Nigeria)



( ) – Chiefs: i.e., B is the son of A
F is a nephew of B and J is a nephew of F.
The next ruler will be a nephew of

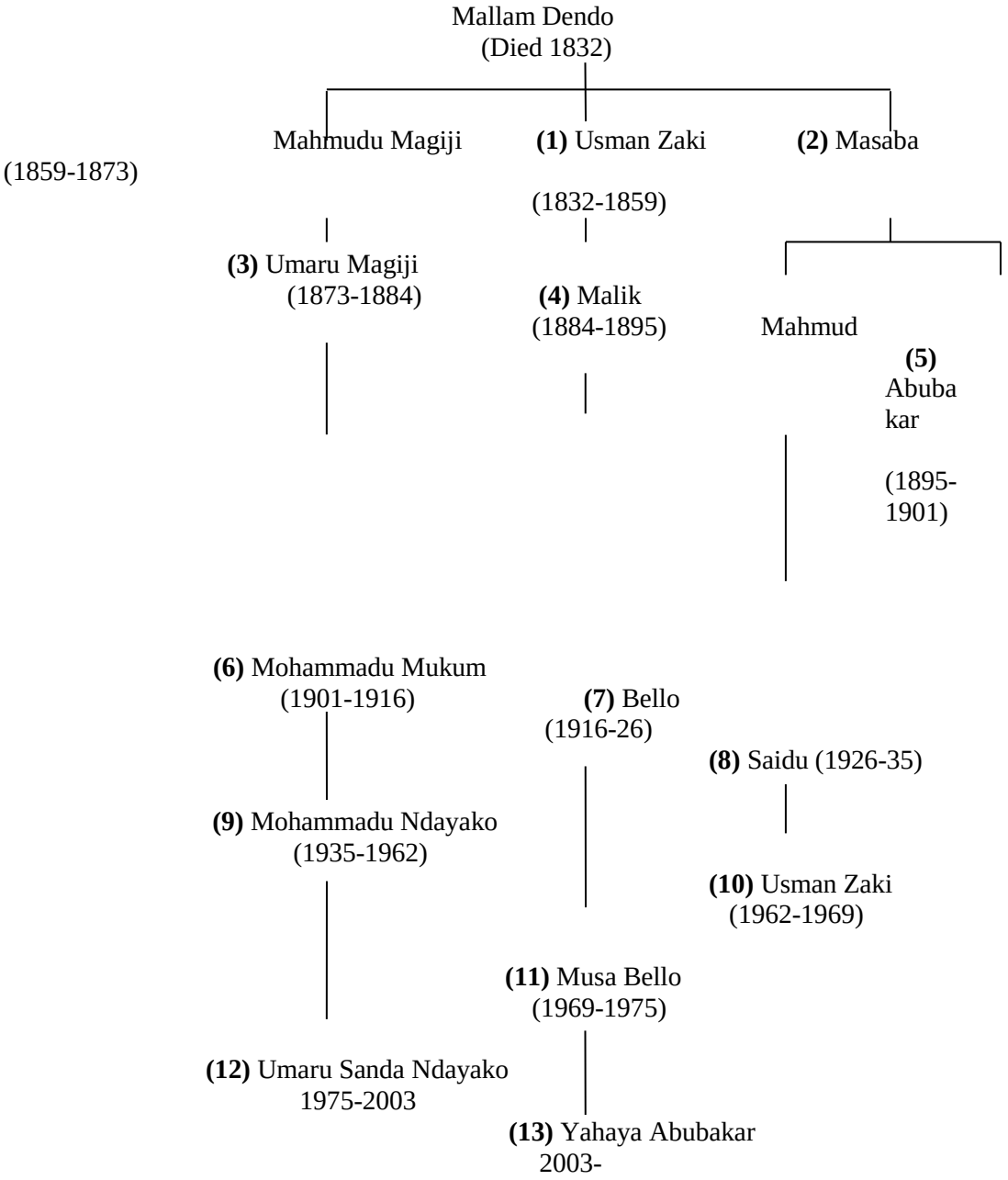
through progression from lower ranks to the top, from village head to lineage head, to clan head and finally to the throne. (Ndi, 1989, pp 27-32)

Election: This practice is common among groups with large numbers of ruling houses and contesting princes where the king makers have to go through an election to select a successor to the decease. It is also the principle adopted by societies without clearly identifiable ruling houses like the Birom of central Nigeria where the practice is for any member of the group, notwithstanding his family background, could be elected to the throne. For example the present *Gbom Gbom* Jos, Da Pam, is not related to his predecessor, Da Fom Bot. Both do not come from the same house nor from related houses.

Hereditary: Hereditary succession should be taken to mean, a son or daughter succeeding to the throne upon the death of his father or mother. This appears to be the

Fig. II: Rotational Principle of Succession

Three Ruling Houses as practiced by Etsu Nupe of Central Nigeria (Makwa, 2002),



Most common succession principle practiced not only in Africa but in other parts of the world where kingship is in vogue. Hereditary succession comes with variants. In most cases, the successor, who may only be known to the public after the death his/her father/mother, must be the son/daughter of the decease king. For some kingdoms like England, the heir to the throne, who must be descended in-line, is proclaimed once he/she is born. There could be a long list of heirs in-line, waiting two or more generations down the line, as in the present case where the future successor to Prince Charles is known when he is yet to take over Queen Elisabeth, from his mother. (Morrah, 1969, pp. 1-7).

Among the Wimbum of the northwest Cameroon grasslands, succession to the throne is from father to son, like for most patrilineal Cameroon grassland chiefdoms. However, they practice a unique variant of that principle, which we have named "child of the leopard skin" succession principle.

'Child of the Leopard Skin' Succession Principle

The "child of the leopard skin" succession principle is built around the Wimbum the leopard, their royal totem. The principle requires that only children conceived on the leopard skin, that is, when their father was on the throne, could succeed to the throne. The king, who is described as a leopard, sleeps on a leopard pelt. Children born before their father was crowned, not conceived on the 'leopard skin', are eliminated from aspiring to the throne. (Nkwi and Warnier, Op. cit. p. 61).

The 'child of the leopard skin' principle, as practiced by the Wimbum, however, does not automatically place the right of succession on the first 'son of the leopard skin'. In theory, any male 'child of the leopard skin' has a right to the throne, but in practice the choice lies in the hands of the Council of King-Makers, who as confidents of the reigning king, would not have difficulties selecting from a short list of three, earlier handed to them by the decease king, when he was alive. Note that because of the polygamous character of the Wimbum royalty, there could be sometimes more than a hundred legible 'sons of the leopard skin' hoping to be chosen as successor to the throne. (Ndi, Op cit, pp. 27-32).

Origin of 'Child of the Leopard Skin Succession Principle

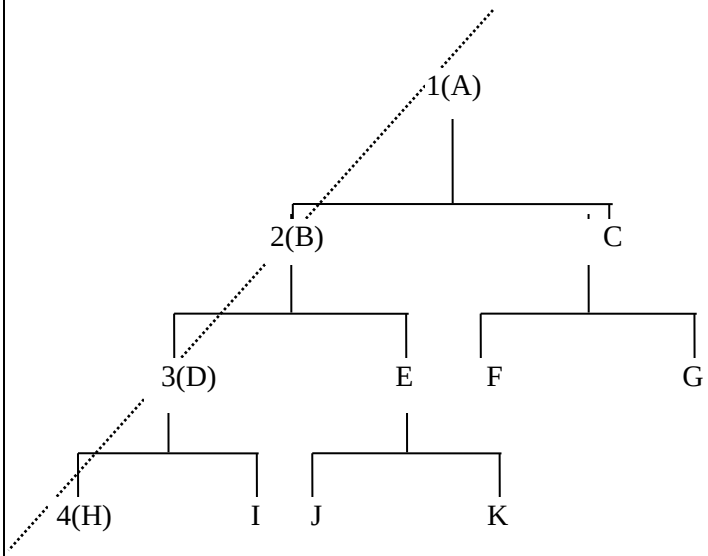
The origin of the Wimbum 'child of the leopard skin' principle may be traceable to the nature and character of their origin, migrations and settlement. Three clans/groups (Warr, Wiya and Tang) make up the Wimbum as are settled today on the Nkambe Plateau. With the exception of Warr, the first to arrive and settle on their present abode, a faction of which claims to be autochthonous, the Wimbum lay claim to be descended from the Mbum Tikar, who had found themselves before the fifteenth century in Kimi, after a tortuous migration traceable from the Mbam-Nkam valleys, through Borno down to Tibati and finally to Kimi. Mafiamba, 1969, p64) The three groups led by three brothers, broke off from Kimi in three waves, the last two, Wiya and Tang, being forced to flee by Fulani slave raiders.(Mason, 1969, p. 554).

Wiya and Tang departed Kimi in separate directions, in the seventeenth century. Wiya was the first to arrive the Plateau after a long and tortuous journey lasting about three generations, to find the Warr long settled. F.W. Carpenter suggests that the Warr were settled for "probably over a hundred years" before Wiya arrival. (Carpenter, 1949, p. 18).

Attention should be drawn to the fact that each Wimbum chiefdom has only one ruling house. Each group as it moved out of the Kimi ancestral homeland did so as a family/house, which ended up as the ruling family. Further separations by brothers and/or sons of founding leaders got the approval to establish chiefdoms of lesser status from the group/leader. (Ndi Stephen Op. cit, pp27-32) Such newly established chiefdoms did not deviate from traditions established by the dynasty from which they were descended.

The Wimbum 'child of the leopard skin' succession principle is built on the Wimbum kingship philosophy which is captured in the adage, 'a leopard begets a leopard'. However, a leopard can only beget a leopard if conception takes place on a leopard skin, and only a king sleeps on a leopard skin. It is this understanding that presents the king as a spirit being. (Ibid, pp. 27-32).

FIG. I: "CHILD OF THE LEOPARD SKIN" SUCCESSION PRINCIPLE



–B is the son of A
–D is the son of B
–H is the son of D
–The next child of the leopard skin will be the son of H
–The descendants of C do not have the right to rule

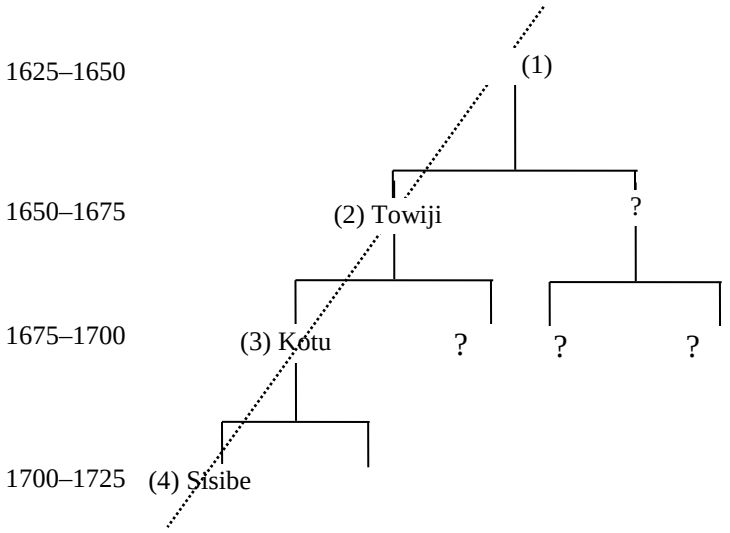
The origin of the 'child of the leopard skin' principle should be linked to the invisibility aura that surrounded each of the three group leaders, who through difficult terrain led their people up to the plateau away from violent raiders. The leader was regarded as invisible, like the leopard, which easily made the leopard the symbol of his authority, giving the Wimbum their most revered totem. Among the Wimbum, the leopard pelt is highly valued and reserved only for royalty. Kings use it as bed-covers, seat covers and foot rests. (Nkwi and Warnier, Op. cit, p. 61).

The leopard totem is not unique to the Wimbum. All Cameroon grassland chiefdoms, particularly Tikar claimants are known to refer to their kings as 'leopard', 'lion' 'tiger' and 'mighty elephant. Nkwi P.N. and Warnier J.P. have observed that,

> There was a special relationship between the *Fon* [Chief] and the leopard. The leopard everywhere in the Grasslands and beyond is believed to be so apart from other animals as to have the status of a human being. Everywhere, killing a leopard is considered the same as killing a human being at war. Hunters who killed a leopard were feasted like courageous warriors... Now, it was believed that Fons [Chiefs] could transform themselves into leopards, and so they had an exclusive right on slain leopards and on leopard pelts. (Ibid)

However, the unique 'child of the leopard skin' succession principle as we noted above, is not practised by all Tikar claimants on the western Cameroon grasslands.

Fig. IV: **'Child of the Leopard Skin' Succession Principle in Wiya-Wimbum (1625 – 1725)**



? = Name of princes not remembered.
( ) = Chief: direct father-son succession.

Impact of 'Child of the Leopard Skin' Succession Principle

The impact of the 'child of the leopard skin' succession principle on Wimbum chieftaincy institution can be easily observed. The survival of the institution for centuries has been due to absence of succession related disputes, which could have easily torn the chiefdoms apart, leaving factions to go their separate ways. The three Wimbum clans have a total of twenty-two chiefdoms which have been settled on the Nkambe Plateau in their present locations for between three to five centuries without any destabilizing upheavals. (CNAB LD-A2, 1949)

Wimbum chiefdoms experience peace when it comes to considering issues related to royal succession. Contestations for the throne which is common to chiefdoms practicing other royal succession principles seldom occur among the Wimbum. Chieftaincy succession disputes and violence do not future in Wimbum historical accounts.

Stability arising from the longevity of reign lengths is a key feature in Wimbum chieftaincy. Longevity results from the fact that most of their kings are enthroned young. For example the present paramount king of Wiya was enthroned in 1982 when he was only 25. He succeeded his father who had been enthroned in 1934. (Nformi, 1982). In the principle of 'child of the leopard skin', it has been observed that younger princes are preferred.

Finally, the 'child of the leopard skin' principle enhances the spiritual character, which is what is needed for the survival of chieftaincy institutions. (Ndi, Op. cit, pp27-32)

Conclusion

The above presentation of the Wimbum 'child of the leopard skin' royal succession principle offers us the opportunity to make some conclusive observations. It should be noted that 'the child of the leopard skin' royal succession principle as practised by the Wimbum, has a long history behind it. It should be pointed out that but for the fact that chieftaincy institutions survive on traditions too deep-rooted to be altered, the Wimbum

variant could be a panacea for peace where succession procedures experience spirited contestations.

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HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND ESTABLISHMENT OF SULTAN BELLO CENTRAL MOSQUE IN KADUNA, NIGERIA, 1962-1999

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Introduction

Mosque (*Masjid*) as a word has different origins ranging from Aramaic, Nabataean, Syraic, Amharic to Arabic.[1] The modern European equivalent 'Mosque' is said to have Arabic and Spanish origins. From the Arabic etymological point of view, *Masjid* is a noun derived from a verb, "*Sajada*" meaning to prostrate oneself.[2] Hence, scholars are agreed that the word 'Mosque' generally means a 'place of worship and / or oratory place of prayer' where people prostrate themselves in worship to the Lord Almighty.[3] Technically speaking, Mosque (*Masjid*) could be referred to as a special place where Muslims worldwide offer their worship. Its specialty is informed by the fact that the meaning of Mosque in Islam differs significantly from the conventional notion of a church in which Christian's devout meet weekly for communal prayers or the ancient Roman forum or the *agora* of classical Greek or Nabataean and Ethiopic temples.[4] However, Samb is of the opinion that all Mosques are of equal worth, with three exceptions, those of Makkah, Madinah and Jerusalem, which are the best Mosques.[5]

Islam as a religion sprang up in Makkah in the year 610 A. D. For a period of twelve years, Islam and the Muslims suffered opposition and persecution respectively from the traditionalists of Makkah in particular and Arabia in general. Thus, within this period of twelve years (610 – 622 A. D.), Islam was practiced secretly. This explains why the first Mosque in Islam built by the Prophet himself was established twelve years after the advent of Islam. The opportunity came during the migration (*Hijrah*) of the Muslim community (*Ummah*) from Makkah to Madinah via Quba; a village of about five kilometres to the south of Madinah. It is intended in this paper to look at the origin of the Mosque in Islam, to identify the great Mosques in Islam, to see how Mosques came to be built in West Africa and Nigeria where our study area is located, to identify the reasons that triggered the building of Sultan Bello Mosque, why and how the Mosque was expanded as well as the major activities carried out in the Mosque.

The Great Mosques in Islam

The *Ka'aba* is of great antiquity. It came to be known as the first house and sanctuary for man on earth. Since the period of Prophet Ibrahim and Isma'il, several generations have subjected *Ka'aba* to use. They have as well been giving it continual face lift.[6] To date, the *Ka'aba* or *Haram* is being expanded and given a new facial look on yearly basis. Successive governments of Saudi Arabia renovate the *Ka'aba* to meet the religious, social and political needs of the Muslims worldwide.

The *Ka'aba* (the sacred enclosure) is located in the centre of the *al – Masjid al – Haram*. By the divine design, the space it occupies is believed to have fallen to the centre of the globe and of the direction of the holy Mosque in the heaven which is the *Qibla* for the Muslims.[7] The latter claim is difficult to verify historically. Wherever a Mosque is constructed or wherever prayer is being offered, it has to be towards the *Ka'aba.* The *Ka'aba* which was a simple roofless cube – like structure at the time of the prophet Muhammad,[8] has turned a magnificent edifice today. Besides the *Ka'aba,* there are *Maqam* Ibrahim and the well of *Zamzam* within the vicinity of the Mosque. *Maqam*

Ibrahim is a building with a small dome, housing the legendary stone on which Ibrahim and Isma'il climbed while building the *Ka'aba*.[9] These places are points of call for Muslim pilgrims to the Holy Land of Makkah and Madinah.

Al – Masjid al – Aqsa (Jerusalem sanctuary) in Palestine (Qudus) according to traditions was the second Mosque on earth.[10] The date of its establishment is difficult to establish for now. It is generally believed that it was built fourty years after the construction of the *Ka'aba*. Was it the first *Ka'aba* or the second *Ka'aba* reconstructed by Prophets Ibrahim and Isma'il? It is likely to be the second one because Prophets Yaqub and Suleiman came after Prophets Ibrahim and Isma'il. The *Masjid al – Aqsa* was believed to have been built first by prophet Yaqub and later rebuilt by Prophet Suleiman.[11]

The term "*al – Masjid al – Aqsa*", like *al – Masjid al – Haram*, encompasses a collection of sacred buildings. The *Masjid al – Aqsa* includes the Dome itself, the tombs, dervish monasteries and public fountains, spreading on an area of about thirty four acres.[12] Strictly speaking, the word *al – Aqsa*, which was initially built with the ruins of St. Mary's church of Justinian, has turned to an edifice, with the untiring efforts of Caliph Abdul al – Malik and the subsequent caliphs through the period of Sultan Suleiman of the Ottoman Empire to the period of the crusaders.[13] *Al Masjid al – Aqsa* is regarded as the shrine of the three great religions of the world: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. This is because the memories of prophets Moses, David, Solomon, Jesus and Muhammad are attached to the Mosque.[14]

Quba is a village about five (5) kilometres to Madinah. It became well known as a result of the stop – over made by the first group of Muslim emigrants on their way to Madinah. The prophet of Islam and the rightly guided caliphs also had a stop – over at Quba. There are many traditions about the origins of the Quba Mosque. However, they are complimentary to one another. The Quba Mosque was the third mosque in the world and the first in Islam.[15]

Some traditions trace the origins of the Mosque to the first group of Muslim emigrants performing *hijrah* from Makkah to Madinah. Other traditions suggest that the prophet together with the four rightly guided caliphs founded the Mosque. However, there is the likelihood that the first Muslim emigrants prayed on an open land on which the prophet later laid the foundation of the Mosque. The foundation was laid within the first week of the year of *hijrah* in 622 A. D.[16]

The prophet and the *Ummah* successfully performed *hijrah* from Makkah to Madinah. At Madinah, the Muslim emigrants were given a rousing welcome and were accorded unprecedented reception. The first task performed by the Muslims was the construction of a Mosque, which was to serve religious and social purposes for Muslims.

The land on which the Prophet's Mosque was built was said to have been purchased from two orphans – Sahl and Suhayl – at the rate of ten (10) dinars.[17] On this land, a large courtyard fenced round with sun – baked bricks with several entrances were built. The courtyard housed the Mosque where religious rites were performed, the *suffa*, which served as a school and boarding house for students and small square cubicles as private quarters for the wives of the prophet. Palm sterns and fronds served as columns and roof respectively. The prophet's Mosque in Madinah was a simple structure of urban house of sun – dried bricks which served as a sample Mosque to the Arabs.[18] The Madinah Mosque like the *Ka'aba* and *al – Masjid al – Aqsa* has become a sophisticated edifice and a proto – type Mosque worldwide in this modern time. This Mosque, historically, was the fourth Mosque on earth and the second in Islam. However, it came to surpass all other Mosques except the *Ka'aba* in social, political and religious significance.

The Mosque in West Africa

In West Africa, Islam was brought about through the activities of the *Sanhaja* Berbers of North Africa. They had trade links with the people of West Africa before they accepted

Islam. After the acceptance of Islam, they took it as a duty to preach Islam at every place they sojourned. Such places were the renowned Trans – Saharan trade centres like Gao, Walata, Timbuktu, Jenne and so on. In each of these places, one type of Mosque or another must have been established at least for the purpose of prayers.[19] The first place of call of Islam in West Africa was the old Ghana Empire between the 8th and 9th centuries. We are informed that:

> The city of Ghana consists of two towns situated on a plane. One of these towns is inhabited by the Muslims. It is large and possesses a dozen Mosques, One being for the Friday prayer, and each having *Imams*; *Mu'azzins* and salaried reciters of the Qur'an… in the King's town, not far from the royal court, is a Mosque for the use of Muslims who visit the King on missions.[20]

Timbuktu, one of the great commercial centres of the Trans – Saharan trade had reputable Mosques. The Sankore Mosque of Timbuktu is said to be the oldest surviving Mosque in West Africa and by implication (because of the patronage of the Mosque by scholars), the first West African University.[21] In Borno, sources reveal that Islam was introduced there by Saif bin Dhi Yazan, an Arab scholar. And that by the 11th century, Islam had gained ground so much that Mai Humai Jilmi of Borno got converted to Islam through the activities of Muhammad bin Mani.[22] Sources have made reference to the Mosques in Borno where the Muslims performed their prayers as simple structures. Mala in passing reference mentions that Borno Mosques were characterized by the use of thatch or clay huts thatched with straw, an architectural design that was common all over West Africa.[23]

In Kano, Islam is said to have been established during the reign of *Sarki* Yaji at about the 14th century. The *Wangarawa* from Mali were said to have been responsible for the conversion to Islam of *Sarki* Yaji.[24] He is reported to have built Mosques and also ordered people to pray in them. Such Mosques included the *Madabo*, the *Jujin Yallabu* and the *Madatai* Mosques in Kano. He appointed *Imams* among the *Wangarawa* for the Mosques. *Mandawari* was the first Chief *Imam* of Kano.[25] By implication, there were more than three Mosques built by *Sarki* Yaji. Toward the end of the 15th century which coincided with the period of the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa as the *Sarkin* Kano, a scholar named Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin AbdulKarim al – Maghili was said to have sojourned in Kano. While there, he was said to have built the *Sharifai* Mosque which is a *Ratibi* (daily prayers) Mosque while Muhammadu Rumfa built a central Mosque.[26]

In all the places in Nigeria where Muslims are present whether in majority or minority, Mosques are usually built for the primary purpose of converging for spiritual, social, economic and political activities. These Mosques grew from simple structures to complex ones in many towns in accordance with their financial buoyancy. Many Mosques in the suburb till date remain very simple structures. In addition, teaching, learning, disputation, legal opinions, presentation of academic sermons and a host of other activities takes place in these mosques just as it was the case with the prophet's Mosque as well as those established by his caliphs. The mosque is the most important institution in Islam. After the home and the workplace, it is the most frequented place. Muslims visit it at least twice, if not three or five times, a day. There, they rekindle their spirituality, strengthen their relationship with their Creator, meet their Muslim brethren, and renew their sense of belonging.

The Building Of Sultan Bello Mosque In 1962

As a result and in order to follow the example of the Prophet, the companions set up Mosques where the Muslims worshipped their Lord on an equal footing without any distinction whatsoever. Sequel to this, it became incumbent upon the Muslim Community to establish Mosques for the reward it entails. The Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) was reported to have said:

> Whoever built a mosque with the intention of seeking Allah's pleasure, Allah will build for him a similar place in Paradise.[27]

It was in view of the above points and the saying of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) therefore, that the Sultan Bello Mosque situated at Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi - Kaduna was established by the Sardauna of Sokoto and Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello. However, it has become obvious that a single factor does not normally lead to the occurrence of an event; several factors have to come together with the last in most cases being the most outstanding. Therefore, such was the case with the building of Sultan Bello Mosque.

Firstly, the choice of the location of the Mosque has to do with the presence of the house of the then Sarkin Musulmi (the Sultan) Hassan in the area, and what happened was that in the year 1930, Governor H. R. Palmer, called on all the Emirs of the Northern Region to a meeting in Kaduna. Among the Emirs that attended the meeting were; the Sarkin Musulmi - Tambari, Shehu of Borno - Umaru Sanda Kura, Sarkin Kano - Abdullahi Bayero, Sarkin Zazzau - Ibrahim, Sarkin Katsina - Dikko, Sarkin Ilorin - Abdulkadir, Lamidon Adamawa - Mustapha etc. It was the first time the Emirs of the Northern Region were so assembled. During the meeting, it was agreed that all Native Authorities within the Northern Provinces should set aside some money to build the houses of Emirs in Kaduna between 1931 and 1932. Therefore, among the houses that were first built was that of the Sarkin Musulmi of the time - Hassan in what was known as Anguwar Munchi, but since then, it became popularly known as Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi. It should be noted however, that Sarkin Musulmi Muhammadu Tambari was deposed in 1931 and Hassan was installed.[28]

The growing Muslim Community in the 1950s around the Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi area was also a contributing factor. However, the most outstanding factor that led to the establishment of Sultan Bello Mosque according to some of my informants[29] was the fact that before it was built, there was only one big (Friday) Mosque at Unguwar Doka (present Kano Road). All the Muslims in Kaduna went there for their Friday Congregational Prayer. This was around the 1950s and it could be recalled that it was a time of politics in which the prominent political parties within the North were the Northern Elements Progressive Union (N.E.P.U) and the Northern People's Congress (N.P.C) and the most dominant was N.P.C. According to sources, every Friday when Sardauna (the leader of the N.P.C.) and his men were going to the Unguwar Doka Mosque, N.E.P.U members (the opposition party) would stand by the road side and shower abuses and insults on them. As a result, a decision was taken by the late Sardauna, late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, and late Abubakar Imam, among others to stop praying at the Unguwar Doka Mosque and moved to another Mosque situated at Rigachikun - Zaria Road in the outskirts of Kaduna. Consequently, a meeting was held in the house of the Sardauna attended by late Sheikh Gumi and Mallam Muhammadu Kankia among others.[30] The Sardauna expressed the need to have an established Mosque close to the government quarters and in the Unguwar Sarkin Musulmi area. But he expressed the concern that the distance between the site chosen for the new mosque and the existing one in town was not quite up to three miles. This is the minimum distance required by the Islamic Law between one mosque and another before the Friday Prayer could be performed in them at the same time.

The late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi did not agree that the distance between the two mosques was not up to three miles and he also pointed out that even if it was not, there were other conditions which justified it. According to him, the law normally allows the building of another mosque no matter how close if the one in use does not have adequate space for everyone.[31]

Nonetheless, in order to dispel any misgivings, he asked the Sardauna to allow him measure the distance. Thereafter, he went to the District Head and explained his mission (as was the custom at the time) and also requested him to accompany him in his car. They set off from the Unguwar Doka Mosque and drove until they came to Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi. The Sheikh was surprised to have found that the distance was considerably more than three miles. The Sardauna himself was extremely happy.[32]

The Sardauna therefore, directed Engineer Muhammadu Kankia to draw up the mosque's plan. He (Kankia) met a colleague of his in the Ministry of Works by name Danladi Shemu who was also an architect and sought for assistance. He then presented the plan to the Sardauna who afterwards sought his view and that of his Secretary - Hassan Lemu on the best construction engineers to take up the task and they mentioned A.G. Ferreror. He handed over the plan to them and directed them to Ferreror who instantly agreed to take up the work.[33] It took not more than three months for the building of the Mosque to be completed. However, what was not clear to the time of this write - up was the source of fund used in building the mosque. Some of my informants said that the Sardauna received donations from Saudi government[34] while others pointed out that the Sardauna single - handedly sponsored the building. They agreed to the fact that he had received the donation but he handed over everything to Jama'atu Nasril Islam.[35]

On completion, the Waziri of Sokoto Alhaji Junaidu was invited to formally commission the Mosque on the 26th of January, 1962. The ceremony is described thus:

> Before declaring the Mosque open, Alhaji Junaidu said that "The building and maintenance of Mosques was one of the most important duties enjoined upon a Muslim by God. He went on to say that Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) and his Companions had paid special attention to this duty. He then thanked the Premier for observing this commandment of God and for following the footsteps of his ancestors. He concluded that he was happy to accept the Premier's invitation
> To come and declare the Mosque open."[36]

In a brief speech, the Premier "thanked God for having destined him to be a Muslim, a descendant of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (May peace be upon him) and of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. The Premier also thanked the Muslims both Nigerians and foreigners for upholding the true faith." "Islam" he declared, "brings together people of different races, and colour in the service of God". He then pointed out to the United Arab Republic Consu1 and some of his staff who were then in the Mosque and said that their belief in Islam has got them absorbed in the Muslim community.[37]

The Acting Grand Khadi of the Shari'a Court of Appeal, Alhaji Abubakar Mahmud Gumi who introduced the Waziri of Sokoto, explained that "Modibbo Muhammadu Girei, a former student of the School For Arabic Studies, Kano and a "native'' of Adamawa Province was appointed the *Imam* of the Mosque." He then presented the keys of the Mosque and those of a book - case containing several copies of the Holy Qur'an to the *Imam*. He added that the Mosque was open to students who might like to study in it".[38]

The ceremony was attended by a large crowd including Ministers and some of the Emirs and Chiefs who were attending a Local Government course in Kaduna. Thereafter, prayers and other activities, such as the periodic preaching, *Ramadan Tafsir,* (which the late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi initially conducted at the Rigachikun mosque), etc. commenced.

It should be noted however that the *Sardauna* was not the person that decided that the mosque should take the name it took. A meeting was held according to some of my informants[39] in his absence to decide on the name the mosque should take, and those present concluded that the mosque be named after *Sardauna's* great - grand father and the first *Sarkin Musulmi* i.e. Muhammadu Bello for the services he had rendered to Islam and the humanity during his lifetime.

However, as regards the issue of sanitizing the mosque and its surroundings, my informant said:

> "I was not around when the building was completed. But then on my return, I met the place between the mosque And my house which is just behind the mosque full of excreta, grasses, refuse and all sort of nasty things that I had to get bull dozers to clear up. And I repeated that service annually for the place to be kept clean. Also there was Sardauna's traditional Berber who set aside the job after Sardauna's death and settled in the Mosque premises for the purpose of cleaning the mosque daily. As a result, Jama'atu Nasril Islam decided to be giving Him some token amount monthly which encouraged him much and even made him to invite three of his friends to give him a helping hand. So that was how the sanity of the mosque was maintained."[40]

It is worthy of note that after the completion of the Mosque, N.E.P.U. members refused to attend it thinking that it would be used as an instrument of winning them over to N. P.C. of which *Sardauna* was the leader. Their suspicion therefore did not stop until the death of the *Sardauna* when they saw that most of the activities taking place in the mosque under Sheik Gumi continued.[41] The Mosque continued to attract more and more people between 1954 and 1965 not only within the *Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi* area but also from other parts of Kaduna. The mosque therefore could not at a stage contain the worshippers that gathered especially on Fridays and hence, the need for the expansion of the Mosque.

The Expansion Of Sultan Bello Mosque In Kaduna

The *Sardauna* himself thought and decided to expand the mosque because on one occasion he had to ask the *Adhan* to reserve space for him and his visitors (the Northern Emirs) on a Friday due to the increasing number of worshippers since the mosque was initially designed to contain only one thousand worshippers. But it was unfortunate that the *Sardauna* died before executing his plan. Similarly, the *Jama'atu Nasril* Islam and the Mosque Committee could not decide on the expansion immediately as a result of lack of fund. But after holding a meeting with the late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi, conc1usion was reached to seek for donations through the media both from within and outside the country. Thus, the late Sheikh took the responsibility of doing that especially during the month of Ramadan from 1987 until his death in l992.[42]

Consequently, on the 16th of January, 1988, an appeal fund for the reconstruction and expansion of the mosque was launched during which all the Northern Emirs, Chiefs, wealthy, prominent and distinguished persons were invited. The sum of almost three million Naira (=N=3000, 000.00) was realized.[43]

Thereafter, the Mosque Committee consulted their architect to redesign the mosque's plan to the capacity of at least four thousand five hundred (4,500) worshippers. The amount needed was estimated to be more than three million Naira (N=3m). Moreover, it was later decided that the capacity of the mosque be increased to contain seven thousand, five hundred (7,500) worshippers. The architect was again asked to redesign the plan and the cost again rose to five million, two hundred thousand Naira (N=5,200,000.00).

Thus, Kueppers Nigeria Limited Construction Engineers started work on the project around 1989. However, before the extension began, the then Sultan of Sokoto Abubakar III had directed that the entire building should not be demolished and the three domes should not be tampered with.[44] That is why if one knew the first building of the mosque or saw it and takes a close look at the present one, one will realize that the new building is only an extension of the former one. Meanwhile, a temporary mosque was built just behind the mosque on Marnona Road for the purpose of performing the daily prayers and the *Ramadan Tafsir* before the completion of the work. With the completion, the temporary mosque was abandoned to the time of this write—up. Though before his death, the late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi had advised that it should be converted to an

Islamiyya school.[45] The Mosque Committee has not taken any action yet although they are proposing to turn the place to a secretariat that will comprise of offices of the committee members and a conference hall.

In the meantime, the price of building materials escalated due to the unstable nature of the economy. The cost of the reconstruction therefore rose to seventeen million Naira (N=17,000,000.00). Along the line, Kueppers Nigeria Limited had a problem with their own management and so could not continue with the work. Therefore, disagreement ensued between them and the Mosque Committee. Fortunately for the Committee, someone by name Alhaji Shu'aibu Imam advised them to meet Alhaji AbdulWahab Iyanda Folawiyo (*Baba Addini* of Yoruba land) in Lagos and request him for donation. They were fortunate to meet him and one day when he was coming back from the commissioning of an *Islamiyya* school in Zaria, he branched and the late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi and others conducted him round the mosque to see the extent of the project yet to be comp1eted.[46] There and then, he promised to complete the building for the sake of Allah. He therefore directed G. Cappa Construction Company of which he is the chairman to proceed with the work. As a result, negotiation began between the two construction companies and the latter estimated the value of work done by the former. Thus, the former were paid off.[47]

Eventually, the whole work was completed at the cost of seventeen million Naira (=Nl7m) out of which Baba Addini's total contribution was twelve million Naira (#12,000,000) while the balance of five million Naira came from other donors.[48]

The reconstructed mosque was commissioned on the 4th of February, 1994 and the ceremony was attended by people from all over the world. The then Administrator of Kaduna State Col. Lawal Ja'afaru Isa represented the Head of State. It was unfortunate that the late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi who sought for donation towards the reconstruction of the mosque did not live to see the completion of the building. He passed away in September, 1992 while the work was in progress.[49]

However, with the completion of the mosque, there arose the need for an overhead bridge that could allow for easy passage of people trooping to the mosque especially on Fridays and on *Eid* days. Because on several occasions, people were being fatally wounded and some even killed by vehicles (due to the fact that the mosque is situated beside the Kaduna—Zaria high way) when crossing the road. As a result, the Mosque Committee again started thinking of ways to sought for donation or sponsor(s). They thought of going back to *Baba Addini* but Col. Lawal Ja'afaru Isa, the Military Administrator of the state thought it unwise and improper. He therefore concluded that the state government should take up that task. On completion, the Administrator called on the Mosque Committee and discussed on whom the bridge should be named after. Then, he suggested that it would be wise and good if it was named after *Baba Addini* for the great service he rendered to the Mosque, humanity and to Islam in general. The members all thought it a good decision and the bridge, was eventually named after him - Alhaji Abdul-Wahab Folawiyo Bridge. It was then commissioned by Col. Lawal Ja'afaru Isa, the State Administrator on the 23rd of August 1996.[50] The two *Eid* prayers – *Eid al Fitr* and *Eid al Kabir* were initially or right from the establishment of the mosque conducted in the Mosque's premises, since *Eid* prayers are preferably performed in an open space.

As a result, the Mosque Committee in 1992 requested the then Governor of the State, Alhaji Dabo Muhammad Lere for a piece of land to be used for the *Eid* prayers. Although they were not able to get even permission, when Col. Lawal Ja'afaru Isa assumed office late in 1993, he supported the move and permitted the use of a piece of land belonging to the State Government opposite Arewa House on Rabah Road for the *Eid* Prayers around 1995. He also asked the Mosque committee to obtain certificate of occupancy from the Ministry of Land and Survey although to the time of this write-up, they have been processing the Certificate of Occupancy without success.[51]

As regards the issue of female worshipping area, even though it was not thought of initially when the mosque was built, the Mosque Committee have been making efforts to look for a donor although they did not intend to make it public because people would grow tired with the demands of the mosque especially since the passing away of the late Sheikh Gumi, the people have been unwilling to donate towards the mosque.

Meanwhile, the general problem that the mosque leaders (*Imam* his deputies and *Ladan*) and the Mosque committee members have been facing is lack of co-operation among themselves. As my informant put it:

> "Everything the Mosque Committee has been doing was without our knowledge. They neither consult us to know our views as regards what they do, nor have they ever allowed us know of their intention and never involved us in their activities. I know it would be surprising but it is not. I could not imagine the reason behind that. Perhaps, it is because of their sound Western education while we are not deeply educated along the Western line. I came to understand more of this when the Imam himself complained to me that he was not consulted when a new *Adhan* was recruited. He was not stopping them from doing so, but at least they should have sought for his advice as the leader of the Mosque".[52]

The mosque today, is the largest in Kaduna and perhaps in the North that attracts different categories of worshippers ranging from those with the highest rank in the military, Emirs (of Northern Nigeria when they are in Kaduna), Chiefs and distinguished people. Perhaps, this resulted from the fact that it was built out of reputation and by a reputable and eminent person who also used it during his lifetime. It is important to know that since the establishment of Sultan Bello Mosque by the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, Premier of the Northern Region, *Jama'atu Nasril_Islam* has been the authority responsible for the administration and management of the affairs of the mosque. Being the only institution recognized at the time that could help on Islamic affairs and that could take care of and see to the problems of the mosque, the Sardauna gave the organization the go - ahead to administer the Mosque's affairs. It was the Sardauna, Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi and some others that founded the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam* in 1963.[53]

When activities became much for the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam* around 1970s and it could not effectively administer the Mosque's affairs, a group of concerned Muslims in 1979 wrote to the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam* seeking for permission to set up a committee to manage the affairs of the Sultan Bello Mosque on behalf of the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam*. And the J. N. I. granted them the permission hence, the formation of the first management committee under the chairmanship of Alhaji Bala Kuki (A Public Announcement issued by the J. N. I). It is therefore only this committee that has been responsible for the management of the Mosque and which has the authority with the approval of the *Jama'atu Nasril Islam* to deal with all matters concerning the mosque.

Major Activities in the Sultan Bello Mosque

The major activities of the Mosque were preaching, conducted at different times by the assigned scholars. Preaching, involves admonition and reminding fellow Muslims and the community as a whole, on some religious issues and the responsibilities they owe to their Lord. It also involves enlightening the Muslim community on some issues concerning the Islamic religion that have not been understood by the people either as a result of lack of knowledge or because the issue had not been fully analyzed and discussed in the past. The Holy Prophet of Islam Muhammad S.A.W was reported to have said:

> "The religion of Islam is admonition to Allah ... to the leaders and the Muslim Ummah.[54]

Based on this saying, preaching became necessary and compulsory on every believer or Islamic institution due to the forgetful nature of man.

As a result, Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi started preaching at the Mosque in Rigachikun before the establishment of Sultan Bello Mosque to the gathering of Muslims that were interested in learning more about the Islamic religion. In addition, he used to teach people who were mostly civil servants that wanted to further their Islamic education in the afternoon and at night. He started this right from his elementary school days when he taught his fellow students the daily rituals. This resulted from the fact that he had considered teaching a priority duty in Islam which the educated owed to their less endowed brothers in the society. It is also the surest way to self-improvement. Because there is no how a community could prosper unless it has those who could read the necessary books to help guide its affairs as well as educate the younger ones. He therefore, derived the greatest satisfaction from teaching others whether in formal or informal situations and was never too busy to encourage others to learn from him.[55] Thus, his efforts received a boost following the commissioning of the Sultan Bello Mosque in 1962. He commenced *Tafsir* activities in the Mosque during the holy month of Ramadan in the following year.

The Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi therefore, with the establishment of the mosque and the commencement of his preaching activities, had the advantage to preach to the people on the so many mistakes they had been committing as well as admonished those in authority. For his aim was to catch the top first as it is the first step to check the general ill pervading the society. He also believed that if those in authority are educated especially on matters of justice and fear of God, and if they accept to do good and observe the demands of their offices in conformity with the wishes of God, there is no doubt that peace, stability and happiness would permeate such a society.[56]

To ensure effective understanding of the audience, he drew a scheme in which he read a quarter of the Qur'an every Ramadan trying by all means to avoid creating confusion among the listeners and equally he did not radically contradict their existing knowledge. In this way, he covered the entire Qur'an (Holy Book) in four years and also interpreted it in accordance with his audience's understanding. Even those *Mallams* he did not agree with their views, he did not come out to say so at the beginning until after the first four years when he felt confident enough to come out and say his mind freely. He first used the *Al - Suyut* version of the *Tafsir* but later used the one he himself wrote (*Raddul Azhan Ila Ma'anil Qur'an*) in the late 1960s. He was indeed a simple man that did not mind repeating every point again and again until it was fully understood; he equally did not mind being challenged by anyone that disagreed with his interpretation.[57]

Apart from *Tafsir* during Ramadan, the Sheikh Gumi conducted other programmes in the Mosque, notable among them were the *Hasken Musulunci* and reading of other Islamic books especially on jurisprudence and *Hadith* between *Maghrib* and *Isha'* prayers every day. The *Hasken Musulunci* had been taking place every Friday and Saturday after *Asr* prayer during which he read books such as *Sahih al-Bukhari*, *Ashmawi*, *Akhdari* e.t.c. This has continued even after the Sheikh's death. However, what he preached during such lessons included how the people should worship their Lord in its best form and their responsibilities towards their fellow human beings. This he did sighting examples from the deeds of the Holy Prophet Muhammad S.A.W. and his Caliphs during their lifetime.

There is no doubt that the late Sheikh Gumi had achieved a great deal in raising the awareness of the people as a result of his simplicity, calmness and intelligence which even prompted the people to ask some irrelevant questions at times which he tolerated. However, he was equally faced with so many challenges as well as problems. Notable among them was the issue of *Tariqa* or *Sufi* brotherhood which generated into a lot of controversies and which attracted the attention of the Federal government several times in an attempt to reconcile both the parties, but it all proved abortive. For instance, late in

1978 during the Obasanjo regime, the Chief of Genera1 Staff, Brigadier Shehu Musa 'Yar 'Adua convened a meeting in order to reconcile them (the late Sheikh Gumi and the leaders of the *Tariqa*).[58] Another effort by the civilian regime in 1983 was made to reconcile them when a meeting was convened at the Yankari Game Reserve, Bauchi, this too proved abortive. Also, during the General Muhammad Buhari Regime, another meeting was convened in April, 1984 which yielded an unfruitful result. Similarly, the late Sheikh Gumi himself tried by all means before his death to let these *Tariqa* Sheikhs / leaders understood him but to no avail.[59] He also had problems with the Northern Emirs concerning the keeping of concubines and bowing to greet them.

Conclusion

The study discusses the status of mosque in Islam and how the Sultan Bello Mosque came to be built by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the *Sardauna* of Sokoto as a result of the following reasons: one, because the residence of the then *Sarkin Musulmi* Hassan is located in the area which was the reason behind naming the area as *Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi*; two, because of the growing Muslim community in the area and three, the clash between the members of the two dominant political parties within the North i.e. N.P.C and N.E.P.U in the then existing mosque. It was as a result of these factors that a decision was taken by the late *Sardauna*, late Abubakar Imam and late Sheikh Abubakar Gumi among others to build the mosque. The construction company that took up the task of building the masque was A.G. Ferreror and on completion, it was commissioned by the *Waziri* of Sokoto, Alhaji Junaidu. When in the year 1965 the mosque became too small to accommodate the number of worshippers that trooped to perform their worship in it, a decision was taken between the late Sheikh Gumi and members of the mosque committee to seek for donations in order to expand the mosque and that was how Alhaji Abdul-Wahab Iyanda Folawiyo (*Baba Addini* of Yoruba land) came in. The whole exercise (of the expansion) was eventually completed at the cost of seventeen million (N17, 000,000.00).

Thus, the Sultan Bello Mosque, *Unguwar Sarkin Musulmi*, Kaduna has become a centre of learning courtesy of the late Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Be1lo, the Sardauna of Sokoto who first built it and the late Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi who through his *Tafsir* during the month of Ramadan and other preaching activities, made it number one centre of Islamic learning in Kaduna, within the North and even beyond. The Mosque today both in and within the premises contains about ten thousand worshippers.

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Oral Interviews

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Kaduna, on 08/06/98, 24/06/98 & 10/08/98.
Sheikh Lawal Abubakar, Islamic Scholar, aged 74 at his residence in Maiduguri Road, Kaduna, on
17/06/98, 07/07/98 & 10/08/98.

Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad Sanusi Gumbi, Islamic Scholar, aged 44 at his residence in *Unguwan Sarkin*

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Alhaji Ali, *Sarkin Motan Sardauna*, Farmer & formerly Sardauna's Driver, aged 64 at his residence in

Unguwan Sarkin Musulmi, Kaduna, on 27/07/98.

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Sheikh Usman Idris Usman, *Na'ibi* (Deputy Imam of Sultan Bello Mosque, aged 47 at his residence in

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WOMEN AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: THE CASE OF WUKARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA UP TO 2012

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Abstract
Nigerian women have proved to be very productive even in the midst of the male dominated economic sector. They can effectively participate in policy making and even do better than some men that are involved in governance today. The steady advancement of women in contributing to the socio-economic development of the nation has to a large extent impacted on the lives of many people in this country generally and the people of Wukari Local Government Area of Taraba State particularly. Consequently this article discusses the economic contribution of women to the development of Wukari, particularly Jukun women in the 20th and 21st centuries and the article concludes that women (Jukun) have done much better in advancing the economic well-being of the people and can even do much better than they have done if their contributions are recognised, appreciated and they are given both moral and financial support by the society which they belong and had labour for.
Keywords: Economic, Development, Economy, Women, Wukari.

Introduction

Women and development have become a topic of discussion in recent times. This is because in every human society, women play vital roles in the economic development of such society. Their role in the development of the economy of their societies cannot be over-emphasized or under-estimated because they play strategic roles along the men in the society. It is however important to note that a society develops economically as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment by understanding the laws of nature and putting these understanding into practice. This article therefore analyses the role played by Jukun women in the economic development of Wukari which is predominantly a Jukun dominated town. Note that women not only work hard in formal and informal sectors of the economy, but they are good managers at offices, homes and farms among others. Women manage people's challenges and adapt to the circumstances of scarcity and certainties in the economy.

Brief History of Wukari

Wukari town is located in the southern part of Taraba State in the Benue Valley region, with a distance of about 37km south of river Benue at Ibi. It is bounded by Benue State to the west and to the east by Gassol Local Government Area of Taraba State.

Wukari, which lies between latitude 7^{o} 50'N and longitude 9^{0} 42' E covers an area of about 2, 535km square, it has a climate typically south of the Northern Guinea which is also referred to as the tropical wet and dry type coded as AW by W. Koppen (Daniel, S. 2004:7) and has a total annual rainfall ranges from about 1300mm to 1290mm (Wukari master plan, 1977-2007). The temperature is warm-to-hot throughout the year, between March to mid-April recording the highest and has a natural Guinea Savannah type of vegetation conducive for agricultural and other economic activities.

Historically and traditionally Wukari which is the seat of the Aku-Uka was established in the 17th century after the collapse of the Kwararrafa State by Angyu Katakpa who was the first Aku to reign in Wukari between 1596-1607. (Akinwumi, O & Abereoran, J 1996:11) It is one of the ancient cities in Taraba State of Nigeria, the

second largest city in Taraba State and it boasts of modern infrastructure (Adamu, D. 2005:4) making economic activities lively and progressive.

Wukari today is dominated by the Jukun peoples of Wapan and Wanu clans; it also have the presence of other groups like the Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Igala, Idoma, Kuteb, e.t.c all performing one function or another towards the socio-economic development of the town.

The physical and climatic condition of Wukari and its environs determines the economic activities of the people. Agricultural activities since the pre-colonial period have been the main stay of the economy of Wukari because of the availability of fertile soil and enough rainfall. (See Meek, C.K. Saad, A. & Danjuma, A) Other economic activities of the people of Wukari include fishing, salt production, weaving and dyeing, hunting and today many people including women are involved in trade and commerce. All these economic activities together make life easy going for the people of Wukari and its environment.

Impact of Women on Economic Development of Wukari

Farming: Agricultural activities have been the main stay of the Jukun economy particularly of Wukari area. As a matter of fact about 75% of the people of Wukari are engaged in farming and most Jukun women are not left out in this economic activity. (Mercy, S.A 2012:25) Meek, during the period of his studies on Nigerian peoples had the notion that all unoccupied land then was free to any person (Jukun) to farm without reference to any one, not even the king. (Meek, 1931:404) However this is not only incorrect, but misleading because to the Jukun people, the Aku-Uka who represents the gods is the custodian of all land, and the elders in every community or family control and share the available land to members of the community or family as supposed. Meek even contradicts himself when he says:

> … in this case the new farmer would ask the permission of the other or of his descendants for the religious reasons that the spot is sacred to the previous owner… (Meek, 1931:404)

However, the Jukun land ownership system which is embedded in the culture does not seem to favour women. While the male are apportioned large space of land, the female have only the hope of depending on a kind brother's or husband's share (Atando, D.A. 2011:71). Nevertheless, they (women) are not left out in contributing to the economic development of their family and communities in terms of farming. Today in the 21st century, some women in Wukari area have become wealthy as well as influential and could possess a large piece of land as possible either through direct purchase, or hiring from respectable individuals or neighbours or still some women today acquire land through request from their fathers or grandfathers inheritance from their male brothers at the death of their parents. (Mercy, S.A. 2012:27)

The Jukun women are always busy throughout the year as they assist their men in all but heavier work of farming. They are involved in threshing and winnowing of seed crops ready for rainfall so as to plant; they take part in farm clearing ready for farming; they are involved in the main part of planting, in collecting the harvested crops and in transporting them home. They assist in weeding the grasses on the farms and in protecting the bulrush millet *(Azajimi)* from birds' attacks. In rice farming, the women do the sowing, they assist the men in weeding; and they are involved in the harvest. (Meek 1931: 407-410) In fact women are involved in all the processes of farming in Jukun land particularly Wukari Area. In the pre-colonial period and into the colonial period, many women had small farms of their own, so that they may be able to provide themselves additional supplies of food and to prevent themselves from suffering

hunger should their husbands absent themselves longer from home than had anticipated (Meek, 1931: 408).

However in the post-colonial period, the Jukun women in Wukari area became fully involved in farming with many of them having large farms that are even bigger than that of some men. For instance, Angye Wajon Agbu from Byepyi community in the 1980s was involved in large scale farming of yam, cassava, maize, guinea-corn and groundnut which she sold to build her three houses in Wukari town. Another woman, late Asabe Danbeki popularly known as 'Mama Bulldozer' from Tsokundi community was involved in large scale rice farming and even owned a tractor. She did produce about 200bags of rice yearly in the late 1980's up to the late 1990's before she passed on. Now, in the 21st century, her daughter by name Mbanduji Dantani (Jobis) has taken over the large scale rice farming in Tsokundi area contributing to food production and employment of labour. Furthermore in the 1980's and 1990's Mama Wandu Lidiya Iliya from Nwuko community was also involved in large scale rice and yam farming. Today, Mrs Larai Siman Chondi is involve in large scale yam farming and produces not less than 2000 tubers per year which she personally transports to Port Harcourt and Lagos to sell. These are just few among the many Jukun women that are involved in large scale farming, contributing to the economic development of their locality and Wukari area. They are employers of labour and they feed both local and national communities, at the same time build estates for rent etc.

Fishing: Fishing is another important economic activity among the Jukun especially those in riverine areas known as Wanu and Wurbo. In fact, fishing is their chief traditional economic activity and it is the most important among the Wanu even up to date. (Aboshi, 2010:191) This Jukun clan is found on the river banks at Jibu, Ibi, down to Abise in Benue State, while some are found in the Lake Chad area. Note that a large number of Wanu is found in Wukari area because Wukari is the capital city of the Jukun generally, and some of the Wapan are also involved in the fish business. Fishing among the Jukun people is an occupation mostly assigned to the men folk, but this is not to say that women are excluded completely (Aboshi, 2010: 191). Fishing is inherited from forefathers to fathers and to children. Arama Danjuma (2012:29/12) agrees with Aboshi as follows:

> The women help their men some times on water during fishing; they provide the necessary domestic services for their men on fishing. While the processing of and marketing of the fish is done by women.

Note that fresh fishes are either sold directly to buyers or smoked at home by the women before they are being sold to buyers in the market.

In Wukari today, there is fish market popularly called *Ati-Aje* where fishes (fresh, smoked and dried) are sold on a daily basis, and the business of selling the smoked and dried fishes is solely on women. Jukun women who are involved in the fish business also travel to distant and near markets to sell their fishes with the permission of their husbands. Some of them use the money they realise from such sales for the education of their children, while many of them build houses in Wukari metropolis. In fact, fish marketing today is controlled by the Jukun women. Prominent among the Jukun women involved in the fish business around Wukari today are; Victoria Abayiwa Yakubu, Deborah Amuye Bulus, Akefu Yakubu Atama, Madam Naomi Gambo Suntai, Aneshi Gambo and many others(Hannatu,A. 2012). These women have contributed immensely to the economic development of Wukari as a town and the Jukun kingdom at large.

Local Beer Brewing

Achen; Tashi or Asha is the Jukun name for locally brewed beer "*Burukutu*" among Jukun women both in the urban and rural areas, and it serves as another source of income for the Jukun women in Wukari. (Danjuma, A. 1983: 33) It is prepared by women and it takes about six days before it is ready for consumption (Aboshi, 2010: 199-201 & Grace, 1983). It plays an important role in the economic and religious life of the Jukun worldwide and in Wukari area in particular. *Achen* is made from either sorghum or from bulrush-millet (Meek, 1931:440).

The local beer is of importance to the Jukun, not only in Wukari area, but all over Jukun land. It is used for almost everything in Jukun life, because it is hard for any ceremony or ritual to be performed in a traditional Jukun compound without involving the Achen. Meek observes thus:

> The beer may be for domestic or religious purposes, or it may be sold to meet the taxes imposed by the administration. (Meek, 1931: 441)

By administration, Meek was referring to the colonial administration. That is to say, the Jukun women used the Achen production as an economic activity so that, today many Jukun women have trained their children in schools, built houses and bought motorcycles among other things with income generated from the sales of *Achen*.

The various drinking joints or compounds scattered all over Wukari and its environs today are employers of labour for many young and grown up women. More also achen is used for the mobilization of labour in the family and communal works, especially farming (Aboshi, 2010: 203 & Meek, 1931:405) Finally it brings the peoples of a village together before they go about their family businesses.

However, it is important to note here that, the production, sales and consumption of achen is prohibited among the Jukun Christian and Muslim faithfuls in Wukari and environs.

Animal Husbandry

According to Meek (1931:414) the Jukun kept sheep, goats, dogs, chickens and a few ducks for different reasons. This economic activity continued even into the post-colonial period. Women in Wukari and its environs in a way of participating in the economic growth of the land, today rear animals such as goats, pigs, sheep, ducks, chicken and cows. These animals in no small time or way make women economically sound. (Mercy 2012: 33) They use proceeds from the sale of these animals and birds to solve their family needs like settling of bills, buying of food and also for other personal problems such as buying of clothes especially during festive periods and weddings and payment of children school fees. These women that rear animals employ the services of some young men (*Burmawa*) and pay them on monthly basis.

Trade and Commerce

Women in Wukari and its environs are engaged in trading activities which is the art of buying and selling of goods and services. A good number of them are traders, mostly petty traders while some are engaged in one form of trade or another in order to make ends. (Mercy, 2012: 35) Many Jukun women today are middlemen *(Baranda)* in the markets all over Wukari area where they buy agricultural produce from the local farmers and to sell to other traders that comes from far and near places such as Kano, Maiduguri, Onitsha, Lagos, Sokoto and so on.

Other women are seriously involved in the Yam marketing where they buy and sell Yam and other tubers like water yam, coco yam and cassava. More also, some Jukun women in Wukari today are involved the clothing business and they own shops and boutiques. They buy all sorts of fashion and second hand clothes *(Okrika)* and sell to the people in need there by making ends meet and also contributing to their own economic well-being and that of the locality. Example of women that own shops in Wukari and its environs include among others Mrs Keziah Okey, Mercy Bala Useini, MatanYashi

Musa, Tani Adimoto, Tala Agyo-Maihoto, mrs Josiah John Aji and others. These women are into buying and selling of clothes, foot wears, textiles (English and traditional) soft drinks and many other commodities.

There are also Jukun women who own hair dressing saloons, tailoring shops, restaurants, GSM business centres and so on. All of them are contributing to the economic development of Wukari and its environs because they employ the services of other people and pay them; they also pay taxes to both the State and Local Government thereby contributing to the economic development of the Local Government and the State. Some of these women travel to places like Onitsha, Port Harcourt, Lagos, Kano, and even Dubai to buy wrappers and other items of trade to come and sell to people in Wukari Local Government and Taraba State in general. (Mercy, 2012:40).

Furthermore, some women today operate small scale industries in Wukari and environment (Juma, 30/12/2012). Few own rice mills in Wukari, Rafin-kada, Gindin-Dorowa, Tsokundi among other places in Wukari Local Government Area and some are involved in flour (cassava and maize) milling. Many Jukun women are involved in road transportation business particularly the motorcycle popularly called Okada or Achaba. Majority of the motorcycles used in Wukari for Okada purpose are owned by women. (Deborah, 27/05/2012) Few own taxis used in long distance journeys, despite the fact that it is men that are engaged in riding and driving the motor-cycles and taxis respectively.

The above analysis is an indication that women in general, and Jukun women in particular are a force to reckon with in the economic development of Wukari and its environs in this century, for they are employers of labour to a very large extent complementing the efforts of government in the fight against unemployment.

Salt Production

Salt is a very important mineral in the Benue Valley, and salt mines were controlled by the Jukun in the pre-colonial period (Meek, 1931: 428) The salt mines were located at Awe, Keana, Azara, Akwana, Arufu and other places .The salt mines at Akwana and Arufu became prominent before the end of the 17th century as salt constituted an important item of exchange, controlled by the Kwararafa rulers and subsequently by the Aku- Uka. (Mercy, 2012:39) The actual salt production into the post-colonial period is controlled by women, the digging and boiling of saline water are done by them while the men's role is to perform traditional rites which is believed to be the source of good salt production. Thus it is believed that they possessed the necessary ritual powers to produce salt. (Jacob, C.C. 2007:309) It was used for different purposes just like today, amongst which are for medicine, for sacrifice to the gods, for food, for exchange with other produce, for payment of tribute, as part of gift for a bride among other things. More also, salt was traded down the Southwards to the Igboland and up Northwards to Nupeland (see Ikime, O. 1999:186) and it is called *Ma* or *Ama* by the Jukun. The salt in Akwana though still processed by the local methods and had faced many difficulties including Tiv attacks on the salt mines, it still remained a source of income to Jukun women who still sale salt to other communities that use it. In a Jukun cultural festival of 2012, salt was displayed as one of the major commodity of Jukun people from Akwana (*Bye- Nghan*).

Pottery Making

Pottery or pot making has been an ancient art and vital business among the Jukun people, and it was and is still mostly done by women. According to Adamu (1983:33):

> Pottery is another occupation of the Jukun women, apart from child-bearing and helping with, or taking responsibility for aspects of agriculture.

They made pots in different shapes and sizes for preparing meals and for local beer (*Achen*). It is mostly done during the rainy season when the basic material (clay) is readily available for use. (Aboshi, 2010:211).

It is important to note that, despite the introduction of western type of utensils in our markets today, these local clay pots and utensils produced by Jukun women have continued to be of great importance to the people, particularly in the villages around Wukari. It serves as a source livelihood for the Jukun women as these pots are sold within and outside the Wukari Territory. However, it should be noted that the art of pottery is fast declining among the wapan today, but it is still very popular among the Wanu and the Kona.

Indeed from the discussion so far, it is clear that women, particularly Jukun women, have impacted seriously on the economic development of Wukari area and its people. The involvement of these women in agriculture, fishing, local beer production, trade and commerce among other sectors serves as employers of labour, poverty reduction, skills acquisition, revenue generation for the State and the Local Government and also contributed to the rise in educational development of the people, particularly the youth. More also, the little they earn from their trading and commerce is mostly used for family needs; maintaining themselves, their children, relatives as well as their husbands. Furthermore, their economic position has led them to be recognised in the political arena of the local government. For instance, women are now appointed and elected into political positions, and some women now sponsor their husbands in politics. (Dawuda, 10/11/2012) However, many of them are facing serious challenges in their endeavours ranging from sexual discrimination into lack of government and societal support, religious differences among others. This is confirmed by some of the women thus:

> We are left on our own to struggle without any support from either the government or the society. Sometimes men abuse us and see us as irresponsible people as we struggle to achieve our targets.

Therefore, there is the need for the government and the society to come to the aid of these women so that they can continue to complement the efforts of government on employment and poverty reduction among other things. More also, the men should encourage these women, not by abusing them or sexually harassing them, but by giving them more helping hands. This would add to the economic development of Wukari and its environs.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this article examines the role of women particularly Jukun in the economic development of Wukari up to 2012. It pointed out that women (Jukun) have played enormous roles in the economic well-being of the people of Wukari in the agricultural sector which include farming and rearing of animals; commercial sector like trading and industry; also in fishing, local beer brew, and salt production among other petty businesses in the post-colonial period. Through these sectors, they have in a way raised the level of economic fortune of Wukari, Taraba State and Nigeria at large because, some of the food crops they produced are found in markets all over Nigeria.

There is no doubt; they would be remembered as veterans in the economic development of Wukari and its environs. In fact they have seriously complemented the efforts of the men folk in the development of the town in this century. However, their efforts are challenged by some problems emanating from their immediate family and the society at large which they serve. They would do better than they have done in advancing the economic well-being of Wukari and its people if they are adequately encouraged.

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Mrs Juma Shishi (60yrs) Interviewed in Wukari on 30/12/2012
Rev. Dawuda Agbu (74yrs) Interviewed in Wukari on 10/11/2012

ORGANIZED LABOUR AND OBASANJO'S SECOND ERA, 1999-2003

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Abstract
The restoration of civilian rule in Nigeria in 1999 marked the beginning of the struggle for popular democracy enmeshed in democratic culture of involvement of stakeholders. This became all the more necessary because of the nature of governance put in place by Olusegun Obasanjo with penchant for undemocratic instinct. The unnegotiated minimum wage award of May 1, 2000 was perhaps a ploy to curry favour from the organized labour over the fuel price increase, a month later. This paper tracks labour's opposition to price increases of petroleum products to the fact that such deepened poverty and misery among the masses. The article also posits that labour's strikes became imperative in the absence of vibrant and fiery political parties. The paper avers that through strikes, labour brought some measures of influence to bear on the government as it bent over backwards to reduce fuel price after each increment.

Introduction

The year 1999 heralded a new beginning both for the labour movement and Nigeria's democratization process. It not only witnessed the renaissance a new phase of labour reminiscent of the regimes of Hassan Sunmonu and Ali Ciroma but also renewed virility and focus for the emancipatory role associated with such a labour the world over. The democratic structure occasioned by the new experiment was not matched with democratic culture as the Obasanjo government exhibited authoritarian instinct quite often. The incessant fuel price hikes without recourse to the principles of consultation and involvement resulted in strikes that characterized State – labour relations within the period. The fuel price increases invalidated workers' disposal income arising from the new minimum wage of May 1, 2000. The period under interrogation was therefore one of a mixed grill for state – labour relations.

Conceptual Framework

Labour involvement in political process has always been a subject of debate and controversy. While some commentators believe that labour unionism should confine itself to economic sphere of creating wealth and 'bread and butter' issues, others have tended to project a broader concern for labour. The later group believes that there is an organic linkage between economics and governance and that it is at the political sphere that decisions affecting labour's welfare are taken. Furthermore, the expanding scope of government interference in labour movement underlies the latter's political interest. This consideration underlines the justification of labour's involvement in the political process so as to be able to promote, protect and defend the interests of its members.

What is Labour?

Perhaps, it may be pertinent to start by defining what labour is. Labour can be said to be an organization of "workers who supply their mental, physical and other innate abilities in exchange for wages and other benefits"[1]. Eskor Toyo, a cerebral Marxist, opines that "trade unions are organizations of the underdogs (i.e. employees, wage, workers, or salaried workers) in modern production and service activities"[2] In other words, these organizations that champion the cause of workers in a society hallmarked by privileges. To J.C. Anyanwu, labour unions "are permanent and continuing democratic organizations, voluntarily created by workers to protect themselves at their work and to

improve their working conditions through collective bargaining, membership and education, political lobbying and campaigning etc. and to provide an effective means of 'expressing workers' view on societal problems"[3]. To this paper labour is an umbrella organization of workers that advances, protects and defends workers' socio-economic and political interests as well as those of the voiceless citizens of the country.

State and Labour Convention of 1999

The emergence of Abdul Salam Abubakar's leadership of Nigeria marked yet another milestone in the labour – government relationship. In a national broadcast on July 20, 1998, he promised, among other things, that the democratization of the labour movement would be completed during the life span of his administration. This position would seem to have resulted in the withdrawal of Ason Bur, sole administrator of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) and Uba Ahmed, the Minister of Employment, Labour and Productivity, respectively. By rescinding the decision to remain in the labour movement, the government opened the opportunity for workers to control their union[4].

In furtherance of this decision, the government on January 4, 1999, abrogated the decree 4 of 1996 which had come to be regarded as a reflection of the excesses of the immediate past military regime. In a deliberate effort to legalize a wrong, the Abacha regime promulgated the Trade Union (Amendment) Decree No. 4 of 1996. The Decree had stipulated that

> no person shall be eligible to contest any elective post under the Central Labour Organization unless he is a member of one of the 29 trade unions affiliated to the NLC: Membership of a trade union means a card-carrying member of a union who contributes money to the union[5].

The abrogation also paved way for the setting up of a care taker committee with Godwin Wokeh and M. A. Kazzeem as the chairman and the secretary, respectively.

There was change and continuity in the labour convention of January 30, 1999 at Abuja. In the past, the leadership of the movement had always been drawn from the public sector of the economy. During this convention, unionists from private establishments rather than the public ones were elected leaders of the movement. For instance, Adams Oshiomhole of the National Union of Textile, Garment and Tailoring Workers (NUTGTW) emerged as the new president. This great change which brought far-reaching influence to bear on the course of labour would appear to have agitated the Obasanjo civilian government. The election of Oshiomhole "not only restored people's confidence in the NLC but also made the union to fill the vacuum created by the absence of opposition parties in the present day Nigerian politics"[6]. In fact, from government point of view, the issue at this period was no longer whether or not to live with labour but on how to adjust its relations with it for sustainable national development.

Labour and the General Elections of 1999

The part III section D sub – section 221 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria stipulates that "no association, other than a political party, shall canvas for votes for any candidate at any election or contribute to the funds of any political party or to the election expenses of any candidate at an election"[7]. Given the antecedents of labour, especially perhaps during the anti-colonial struggle there were conspicuous efforts by the government to 'de-politicize' labour. Although labour formed no party of its own or fielded any candidate(s) for elective position(s), it can hardly be said that labour was purged of political activism. Labour's interest in the political process was to ensure meaningful and equitable distribution of national wealth.

Labour believed, as it were, that the duty of enthroning a free and democratic society after the epileptic and tenuous transition programmes of the military was the responsibility of all the strata of the society. It is interesting to note that labour went a step further in this direction by educating and conscientizing its followership as well as the general public on the gains of democracy. The desirability of labour action appears

understandable. This was founded on the fact "that military governance is immanently antithetical to emancipatory vested interests of labour" [8]. It is perhaps in an attempt to forestall a repeat of the June 12, 1993 general elections that the Presidential Parley of February 16 and 17, 1999 was organized.

On those days, Olusegun Obasanjo and Olu Falae, the presidential candidates of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and All Peoples Party (APP), respectively, met with the labour leadership. This was intended to inculcate the political culture of dialogue, consensus and negotiation of differences. In keeping with this development, Adams Oshiomhole pointed out that "the NLC would not declare its support for any political party but would not be apolitical" [9]. On the strength of this, it can be asserted that labour's claim to be non-political would appear weak. It has also been said that A. Oshiomhole, S. O. Z. Ejiofor and A.A. Salam belonged to what was known as the 'Otta Farm Dialogue'[10], a forum that articulated the policies and programmes pursued by the Obasanjo administration. All these, as was to be expected, helped to ensure PDP's victory at the February 27, 1999 presidential polls which were also monitored by labour.

Labour and the Emergent Civilian Rule

May 29, 1999 marked the dawn of an era of fulfilled dreams and has always been referred to as the Democracy Day. Generally speaking, democracy represents a system where the people govern themselves. According to Philip M. Gaiya "democracy is a political term which connotes a system of government whereby the people of a nation do not only possess political power, but also exercise it wittingly through elected representatives"[11]. The inauguration of the Obasanjo – led government on that day was not only a high-water mark in the effort to rebuild the nation but was also expected to guarantee all the attributes of a democratic society, in the opinion of D. Otobo "a truly democratic society is the one that develops social, economic and political institutions, values and conventions which underline and maximize the freedom of individual"[12].

It can also be argued that the interactions that connected labour with the political power bloc strengthened the emergent democracy after many years of tortuous military dictatorship. Soon after the restoration of the democratic government, labour carried out a clarion call to inspire accountability and the development of those institutions and values considered as important for the survival of a nascent democracy. For instance, "on June 1, 1999", Adams Oshiomhole suggested that "democracy in Nigeria would remain a problem if each time the military after exposing corrupt civilians were allowed to go despite their seeming corrupt practices"[13].

It is not unlikely that this call by labour must have prodded the Obasanjo government to set up a probe panel to look into the activities of the military regimes of the previous 16 years. This was followed up with the creation of anti-graft outfits-the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC). The achievements of these bodies would seem to have been in the direction of documenting the corrupt activities of public officers with the intention to bring them to book. Perhaps, their activities in the first eight years were expected to stem the rising tide of corruption among public officers. It has to be noted, however, that when Obasanjo veered off from purposeful focus, he used these anti-graft institutions "to intimidate and harass known opponents of tenure elongation in the National Assembly controlled by his PDP . . ." [14]. In the opinion of Chris Uyot, labour also carried out protests against the self-allocation of furniture allowances, worth ₦5 million and ₦3.5 million per member of the Upper House and the Lower House, respectively [15]. It is not unlikely that this has brought about the upward review of salaries and wages of labour workforce which the government announced on May 1, 2000.

In a similar vein, labour is known to have also engaged the National Assembly over the conduct of its leadership, especially the bribe scandal preferred against Chuba

Okadigbo and Adolphus Wabara. This was one of the ways was labour has tried to ensure sustainable democracy and keep the military in the barrack. As Oshiomhole pointed out, "labour called for very prudent management of resources, proper prioritization of projects and elimination of wastages, more transparency, accountability and good governance in general"[16]

Labour and the Threat of New Economic Agenda to Democracy

It is also important to note the difficulties associated with sustaining democracy where the SAP – induced poverty is unprecedentedly pervasive. A closer look at key economic indicators would likely show that no less than 70% of Nigerians live below poverty – line. This would seem to have a multiplier effect on the two major planks of the Obasanjo's economic agenda – deregulation and privatization. This would appear to have provided labour with the basis to oppose those economic agenda. Labour took the view that "from every indication, privatization was clearly not feasible as a short term or even medium term solution in view of the painstaking processes involved"[17].

The privatization exercise was supposedly intended to inject needed capital into public parastatals through individuals so as to sustain the production levels at no extra cost to the government. Labour's opposition to the policy would appear to have been founded on the fear that it was likely to short – change Nigerians and thereby constitute a threat to the democratic practice. M.Y. Mangvwat, in a recent paper, appears to lend credence to this argument He points out that "the corrupt manner in which these public utilities and ventures were sold was embarrassingly brought to light in the last two years of Obasanjo's rule in the infamous feud between him and his vice president, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar"[18]. The legal tussles between labour and the government agencies such as the Bureau for Public Enterprises (BPE) over privatization plans of the collective strategic national assets, in a way, contributed to the stability and sustenance of democracy. In other words, the recourse to the court by the government as against unilateral and unconstitutional means of foisting controversial government policy such as privatization on the general public in itself deepened democracy.

On the deregulation of the downstream sector of the oil industry, labour further argued that "given the volatility of the products' prices in international market and naira exchange rates, deregulation of prices was impossible and clearly undesirable"[19]. In fact, labour's opposition would seem to have arisen from the attendant spiral inflationary trend which could threaten the democratic institution.

In support of labour's stand, Otobo postulates that

> until macroeconomic variables under a globalizing context are fully confronted and addressed, poverty reduction schemes and projects co-ordinated . . . and poverty alleviation mainstreamed into the States socio-economic policies, there is no historical evidence or precedence of poverty being eliminated through externally prescribed schemes as now prevails[20].

What appears to have constituted the greatest threat to democracy was the throwing wide open the doors of the weak Nigerian economy to the conservative macro-economic policies and the vagaries of globalization.

It is to be noted that within the first tenure of the Obasanjo – led government there were "four official general strikes, the longest lasting eight days and four other occasions of mass upsurges of protests . . . developed around planned general strikes called against Obasanjo's policies especially increases in the price of fuel"[21]. Labour's anti-fuel price strikes and protests were probably informed by the fact that the opposition parties had been weakened as a counterweight to unpopular government decisions. The official responses to anti-fuel price strikes during this period revealed the strength of democracy. Thus the resort to court to legally cripple such strikes portended a quality recognition that democracy was on the right course. Otobo seems to agree with this view point when he noted that "where the police and law courts, for example, did not operate in a manner

to protect the public and ensure justice, the sustenance of democracy became an impossible task"[22]. The task of protecting and deepening democracy in a developing nation like, Nigeria could be said to require a great degree of compromise between the state and participatory structures such as labour. Given this position, labour can be said to have contributed its quota to the Nigerian nation-state.

One other factor that tended to threaten the stability of democracy would be traced to Obasanjo's assertion during the Otta Farm Dialogue that one-party system was the remedy for Nigeria's underdevelopment [23]. The efforts of the PDP – led government to turn Nigeria into a one – party state would seem to have been anchored on the above standpoint. In keeping with this position, the government appears to have forced the other parties out of effective opposition. For instance, the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) was adversely affected by an alleged bribery scandal connecting its leadership just to weaken it. A situation where labour appears to be the only functional opposition to government's unpopular policies, has expanded its role towards nation building beyond the statutory traditional welfarist functions. However, it should be noted that while labour intervened in governance and engaged in advocacy and mass action, it was not a conventional opposition party that thrived on mistakes or defeat of governments. It would, in fact, be argued that labour took up this position because of the overwhelming attention opposition parties paid to election and spoils of office instead of constituting checks and balances on the government policies. It is instructive to note that labour on its part "has continued to campaign that the political space be opened up to allow more parties and therefore, bring new vision and vitality into politics and government"[24].

In spite of the principled stand of labour against the arbitrariness of the executive arm of government, there were occasions labour appeared to have been compromised. For instance, labour and the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR) were in defence and support of the federal government when the House of Representatives served impeachment notice on Obasanjo[25]. This action underscored the inner thinking of labour. What is more, the leadership of labour was also believed to have openly demonstrated its support for Obasanjo's second term bid by attending his declaration to that effect. It seems the greatest error of judgment on the part of the labour leadership was the overt support for the project of the same establishment whose economic policies it had opposed for four years running.

Labour and the 2003 Elections

In an effort to safeguard and deepen the democratic institutions already in place, labour, like other stakeholders in the society, mobilized and trained over four thousand personnel to monitor the April 2003 general elections. This was to reduce electoral malpractices and irregularities that had hitherto stalled or hindered democratic processes in Nigeria. Perhaps, it was labour that has inspired other sections of the society such as the Campaign for Democracy (CD), Democratic Alternative (DA) Human Right Watch (HRW), Civil Liberty Organization (CLO) Committee for Defence of Democracy (CDD) and Friends of Minorities (FM) to sustain the struggle for the preservation of democracy. In other words, it can be said that the efforts were in "all responsibility to help consolidate Nigeria transition to democracy after decades of military dictatorship" [26]. This can be said to be one of the effects of the growing interaction between labour and other pro-democracy groups. Oshiomhole seems to have had a firm grasp of the situation when he observed that "the urgent and sustainable task for the defence of civil democratic rule in Nigeria would not see labour play a fringe role but a frontal leadership role"[27].

In the opinions of both local and foreign monitoring groups and observes, the April 2003 general elections were fraught with fraud, and all forms of malpractices and irregularities. Reports showed that the elections were everything but free and fair. It has been argued in some quarters that "civilian governments have become accustomed to

making their own coups to stay in power forcefully turning election results in their favour and killing several people to achieve that . . . ."[28]. In what labour perceived as its defence of democracy, it paradoxically openly drummed up support for the acceptance of the massively rigged elections that distorted the will of the people. This development suggests that labour had become a willing tool in the manipulative hands of the government. For all practical purposes, labour could hardly be considered as an impartial observer in the electoral process, more so, as its stand was at variance with the position of other Nigerian and foreign observers. In contrast to labour's objectives, this singular misrepresentation would seem to have constituted a threat to the nation's political system and stability.

The Government, perhaps basking in the labour's tacit support for the April polls, introduced a new price regime for petroleum products such that the pump-point cost of fuel rose from ₦26 to ₦40 per litre. But times were changing and labour's opposition to SAP-induced economic policies was also growing in strength. In reaction, labour "on June 13, 2003, expressed its opposition to the contemplated increases more so when they were illogical and ran counter to sound economic principles" [29]. As a face-saving tactic, the government rushed to the High Court presided over by Mrs. Roseline Ukeje with a suit against both labour and other civil society organizations to subvert their right to strike, but it lost.

During the anti-fuel strike, protests and demonstrations of June 30, 2003, Obasango's government, brooking no opposition, clamped down on labour and all those involved in what the government dubbed as subversive activities. It may be pertinent to point out that many other dissatisfied groups easily joined the protests thereby giving the strike a widespread popularity. In a bid to stem the wave of protests and demonstrations that had pervaded the major state capitals, the government's structures of violence' descended on labour leaders. As many as nine such leaders including Chris Uyot, Hauwa Mustapha, Alhaji Nwogu, Abbayo Nuhu, Innocent Ogwuche, Moses Umaru, Chinyere Duru, Kalu Uche, Isaiah Eigege and four journalists were either arrested and or assaulted and battered. No less than nine other persons were wounded while six were shot by either the police or the army in the wake of the strike[30].

Between June and October 2003, the political atmosphere was everything but stable, consequent upon the new economic blueprint of the government. In the absence or the near non-existence of a virile opposition party to stop some of the government's obnoxious policies, labour took up the challenge to defend and preserve democracy. This stand seems to be inconsistent with the opinion expressed by the government through the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sule Lamido. He argued that "as partners with the state, the civil society (and or labour) was expected to play the role of planning, organizing, establishing, implementing and monitoring of social, political and economic reform programmes and projects"[31]. It can be asserted that labour's opposition was not intended to truncate democracy but to strengthen it. In point of fact, labour resisted the way "our democracy was being managed by undemocratic and ruthless political parties like the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and ruthless and vindictive Presidents like Obasanjo's…."[32].

Lamido's view which represents government position erroneously suggests that all actions and policies of government should be sacrosanct to matter how misguided. For instance, on October 8, 2003, in reaction to a strike threat over increased fuel pump price, Obasanjo claimed that "what the NLC leadership must realize is that it has no right to mobilize much less call for anti government action, the Nigerians who are not dues-paying members of its affiliate union"[33]. As was to be expected, the government zero tolerance for opposition from labour was expressed in various anti – labour policies. It is plausible to state that all the efforts to clamp down on opposition groups or voices of dissent were in themselves essentially undemocratic and absurd in the new political dispensation. It seems clear that "… there can't be a democracy without a civil society;

none without a media, and is almost unthinkable without vibrant opposition political parties, as there is no democracy without the state"[34] In consequence, the state labour relations became poor, culminating in the Labour Reform Act of 2005 which falls outside the time frame of this paper. In the light of the above labour actions and activism, it could be asserted that labour has demonstrated the will to expand and preserve the democratic institutions against all repressions by the state.

It may be useful to note that between June and October 2003, the government can be said to have threatened itself and political stability over the fuel price reversal. The period was characterized by incessant anti-fuel price protests and strikes which shook the foundations of the civilian government. The government's zero tolerance for the opposition contradicts the view expressed by Austin Isamah that "the hallmark of a democratic government was the tolerance and even encouragement of opposition"[35]. It is clear that Obasanjo's method of prosecuting the power struggle against opposition groups smacked of the orientation of a military politician. His anti-labour attitude was predicated on the fact that the government viewed labour opposition to its economic reform agenda with intense hostility. This was, as M. F. Lofchie *et al* have perceptively argued, because "…aside from the dominant political parities themselves, labour probably constituted the strongest political force"[36]. It was interpreted that labour had abandoned its statutory traditional function to dabble into governance; hence it opposed every conceivable policy of the government. E. Wogu appears to be reacting to this misconception of the role of labour in the following words that "…trade unions all over the world are highly conscious of government policies, to the labour movement; good governance would translate to better welfares for their members especially in the public service"[37].

From the foregoing, it is instructive to observe that labour for the period under study was a veritable vehicle for the socio-economic and political development of Nigeria. Its contributions to the resistance movement against democratic dictatorship would appear to have enhanced and consolidated good governance and democracy. On the part of labour, its principled stands "will help deepen its image within society as an important institutional actor, thereby raising social legitimacy"[38]

All these same, the four years of democratic experience brought a lot of changes and continuity in the state-labour relations in Nigeria. For instance, the period witnessed the experiment of endowing the private economic sector union with leadership responsibilities as against what had obtained hitherto. In the past, the leadership position in the labour movement had been occupied by core civil servants. On deeper analysis, it is clear that the change which resulted in the emergence of a leadership from the private sector of the economy has helped in deepening democracy in the country.

Conclusion

The year 1999 introduced a new era in terms of labour democracy and political relevance. Labour leadership has been able to meet the challenges posed by the Obasanjo-led civilian government which appears to have strangulated all opposition parties in the present political experiment. Labour had in the past demonstrated an inbuilt capability to disregard ideological or leadership differences when the occasions so demanded. Put differently, this study has tried to show proofs that obnoxious policies had hitherto pooled discordant industrial union leaders into one formidable front with a unity of purpose. The elements continuity in the labour-government relations tend to point to the fact that the Oshiomhole leadership was a continuation of the Sunmonu and Chiroma regimes.

In addition, it has acted as the most formidable political force apart from the government in power. There is a basic continuity in the labour-government interface as has been demonstrated by labour strike actions against such unpopular policies as fuel price increases. Furthermore, that labour survived the year 2003 is an element of

continuity. It could also be asserted that the tenor and tempo of labour militancy of the pre-and post independence eras survived the period too. In other words, labour still represented the old order. It is clear from what has been said so far that 1999 through 2003 were an epoch of continuity and change in the labour-government relations in Nigeria.

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EVALUATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY OF COMPANIES IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
The study examined environmental responsibility of corporate bodies in Nigeria in the light of environmental standard and regulations. Corporate organizations are established to achieve set goals and objectives. With the resolve to achieve these goals, their operations in one way or the other affect the environment. Corporate environmental responsibility has been recognized as effort made by corporate bodies to protect and sustain the environment. The instrument utilized in this research was the primary survey which was statistically analyzed using Z-test. Findings are that there are laws and regulations established for environmental protection as well as established penalties for default, companies take responsibility for degradation caused by their operations and there is little or no disclosure of environmental issues in most companies' reports. Recommendations among others were that companies should develop environmental policies which can enhance their overall environmental performance.

Introduction

No company exists in isolation but like all other living organisms exist and operate within a set of condition and variables which make up its environment. The business environment represents a set of complex and interrelated factors, forces or variables which lie outside the business but affect or have potential of affecting the fortunes of the business now or in the future (Agbonifoh and Inegbenebor, 2008). The importance of the environment to a corporate body cannot be overemphasized as it represents the source of all its input.

Since the industrial revolution, productivity and growth have been the central purpose of businesses. Massive production took precedence over social and environmental issues; as a result, companies generated wealth at the cost of large scale of the ecosystem. However in the 1970s, with the rise of social awareness, corporations began to realize that their obligations went beyond accumulation of wealth.

The issue of corporate responsibility is relatively new. For decades, issues of discourse have been mainly on ethics, organizational structure, environmental impact on the organization etc. Environmental degradation has become a major issue to environmentalists who worry that such companies mostly in the oil and manufacturing sectors are reluctant to cut back on greenhouse gas emissions in their industries. More and more attention being given to environmental responsibility is gradually becoming widely accepted, particularly in industrialized countries. In the light of this awareness, various laws, standards and protocols have come up. With this awareness comes some worries that combating environmental problems may be achieved at the expense of economic development and environment are inextricably linked and under past and current processes, one is achieved at the expense of the other (Atsegbua, L., Akpoteine, V. and Dimowo, F., 2004). They should be integrated in a balanced way to achieve sustainable development.

Corporate organizations need to operate in a sustainable way and involve themselves in programmes that will yield measurable development. It is in their long term interest to ensure the environment is healthy and habitable.

Literature Review

There is a growing interest on environmental and social responsibilities of companies. The way organizations achieve their goals are issues of great importance. Most organizations are more concerned about the elements in their environment necessary to their success and less about the social and ethical implications of their actions (Koontz and Weihrich, 1998). The issue of corporate responsibility is recognized globally. Before now, the issues of discourse have been on ethics, organization structure, impact of the company on the environment, etc. Thus, there is a lack of literature on environmental impact of the corporation.

Corporate environmental responsibility is a subset of corporate social responsibility focusing on environmental performance. Corporate social responsibility reflects the way in which firms take into account the repercussions of their activities on the society. Datta (2010) defines it as a concept whereby organizations consider the interests of the society by taking responsibility for the impact of their activities on customers, employees, shareholders, communities and the environment in all aspects of their operations. By practicing corporate social responsibility and reporting, the organization also partakes in environmental responsibility.

The environment is of utmost importance to corporate bodies and every aspect of their operations. It is the source of all its inputs and absorbs the organization's output as well (Agbonifoh, B.A. and Inegbenebor, A.U., 2008). The environment is seen as the resource base for economic development. The phenomenal increase in the rate of industrialization and urbanization has brought unprecedented pressure on the environment. The sudden awareness of environmental limit and the dangers of abuse and misuse of the environmental resource on the quality and welfare of mankind create the need for environmental protection and responsibility.

The nature and scope of corporate social responsibility has evolved overtime. It came into common use in the early 1970s. Corporate environmental responsibility as a part of corporate social responsibility emerged as a separate subject of discourse as a result of the increasing need for environmental sustainability. Corporate bodies in pursuing their organizational needs are required to sustain the environment (resources) used. The history of corporate environmental responsibility can be considered as the history of corporate social responsibility.

The industrial revolution contributed to a radical change in Europe and the United States, this trend led to the development of large organizations that acquired great power with founders and owners becoming rich and powerful. In the late nineteenth century, many of these individuals believed in and practiced a philosophy called 'Social Darwinism', which is the idea that the principle of natural selection and survival of the fittest are applicable to business and social policy. This type of philosophy justified cutthroat, competitive strategies that did not allow for much concern about the impact of successful corporations on employees, the community or the environment.

In the early stages of the twentieth century, a strong negative reaction against the large corporation started to gain momentum. Criticisms of large corporations for being too powerful and for practicing anti-social and anti-competitive practices came up. Laws and regulations were enacted to forestall these practices and protect employees, customers and the society e.g. Antitrust Act. Movements emerged advocating greater social responsiveness on the part of the business.

In the 1960s and 1970s, expectations of business participation in solving society's problems began to rise whether the business had caused the problems or not, this was based on the view that corporations should go beyond their economic and legal responsibilities and accept responsibilities related to the betterment of society. Corporate social responsibility has become widely accepted by multinationals and industrialized companies.

Corporate environmental responsibility emerged as a result of awareness globally of environmental degradation and pollution occurrence in addition to the need for sustainability. More and more attention is being given to environmental responsibility, the environment is seen as the most important as it sustains in one way or the other, the other dimensions (i.e. employees, consumers etc.). This awareness led to establishment of protocols e.g. Kyoto Protocol, Standards and Laws. Corporate environmental responsibility is seen as the integration of environmental policies into day to day operation of corporate business.

The literature reveals a number of works addressing environmental responsibility and accountability. Although relatively new as a field of study, corporate social and environmental responsibility have drawn several contributions of scholars in the social, economic and management fields.

Authors such as L.M. Smith (2010), Utting, P. (2000), Perry, M. and Singh S. (2001), Crowther (2000), Owolabi (2007), Skillus, A. and Wennberg, U. (1998), Heard and Bolce (1981), Campbell, Craven and Shives (2003), B. Field and M. Field (2002), Brophy, M. and R. Starkey (1996) and many others have contributed to the scope of social and environmental responsibility. While some focused on social and environmental responsibility, others focused on social and environmental disclosure and reporting, theories at social responsibilities, corporate environmental management and other branches of the field of corporate responsibility.

Other works include the 2007 labour overview, in which the issue of corporate social responsibility was addressed and UNIDO Position paper on corporate social responsibility.

Environmental protection has been considered to be a public responsibility with government assuming principal role for the creation of preservation of a safe environment. They have, through sanctions, regulations and occasional incentives, directed the private sector.

However, the roles of the sectors are changing with private sector becoming an active partner. Environmental responsibility rests on the government, public and corporate bodies. Much attention will be focused on the corporation and consideration will be given for government's responsibility to the environment in this study.

The major cross-sector regulator of the environment in Nigeria is the Federal Ministry of Environment, Housing and Urban Development (FMEHUD). Among its supporting agencies is the National Environmental Standards and Regulation Enforcement Agency (NESREA) which is responsible for enforcing environmental standard for all sectors except the petroleum sector.

For the petroleum sector, we have the Department of Petroleum Resources of the ministry of petroleum resources which sets guidelines and standards for the protection of the environment with regard to exploitation operations. Other regulations established for the prevention of pollution and degradation in the petroleum industry have been made under the petroleum Act.

Ajibade and Sipasi (2010) listed the major laws on environment in Nigeria as:

(i) The National Environmental Standards and Regulation Enforcement Agency (NESREA) Act, 2007.
(ii) The Environmental Impact Assessment Act (EIA)
(iii) The National Oil Spill Detection and Response Agency (NOSDRA) Act, 2005.

Environmental Problem in Nigeria

The major environmental problems are those of pollution, land degradation and deforestation. Pollution has been defined by the NESREA Act, 2007, as "man-made of man-aided alteration or chemical, physical or biological quality of the environment beyond acceptable limits" (Ogbodo, 2010).

Land degradation according to Business Dictionary (2011), is defined as deterioration in the quality of land, its topsoil, vegetation, and water resources caused usually by excessive or inappropriate exploitation. The exploitation and production activities in Nigeria play a major role in the socio-economic structure of the country but has some negative environmental effect; especially in the Niger-Delta area due to crude oil exploration. This has led to degradation of the environment as a result of oil spill, leakages etc.

Pollution can be in the form of water contamination, air pollution, unsafe disposal of solid and hazardous waste, soil degradation, deforestation etc. A notable instance of pollution in Nigeria which catalyzed environmental protection and enforcement was the dumping of toxic waste on the shares of Koko port in Bendel State (now Delta State) in 1988 of Italian origin (Adegoroye, 1991). According to Atsegbua et al. (2004), general forms of pollution include air and atmospheric pollution, water pollution, marine pollution, land pollution and noise pollution.

Whichever way environmental degradation may be categorized, it is glaring that most environmental damages are the resultant effect of industrialization. Industrialization can be economically and environmentally profitable when guided by adequate environmental protection legislation.

Environmental responsibilities from the government's perspective through laws, guidelines and regulations have been examined. From the public perspective, agitations from indigenes under the umbrella of non-governmental organization (NGO) and militants have proved inadequate and ineffective to protecting the environment.

The onus shifts to the corporation who exploits the environment to achieve their goals. Corporate bodies ought to be responsible environmentally to promote development and sustainability.

Some environmental responsibilities facing companies listed by Smith, L.M. include:
(i) Meeting regulatory requirements or exceeding those expectations.
(ii) Cleaning up pollution that already exists and properly disposing of the hazardous materials.
(iii) Disclosing to the investors, both potential and current, the amount nature of preservative measures taken by management (the requirement for disclosure is the estimated liability must be greater than 10% of the company's net worth).
(iv) Operating in a way that environmental damage does not occur.
(v) Promoting a companywide "environmental attitude".

Corporate environmental responsibility involves voluntary self-regulations which a company decides to follow in order to protect the environment. Companies generally tend to follow similar steps when addressing environmental impact of their activities namely:
(i) Corporate environmental policy
(ii) Environmental audit
(iii) Employee involvement for effective policy implementation
(iv) Green procurement; ensuring processes and materials used are environmentally-friendly.

Research Methodology

The research methodology is designed to identify the research approach used for the research study. Agbonifoh and Yomere (1999) define methodology as dealing with methods, procedures, or modalities by which the researcher intends to accomplish the objectives in the research work.

Research Hypothesis

The following Null hypotheses were tested in order to achieve the stated objectives of this study.

1. H_o: There are no negative effects of company's activities on their host environment.
2. H_o: No programmes have been funded by companies to reverse the environmental degradation that has occurred.
3. H_o: There are no disclosures on environmental issues in companies' annual reports and financial statements.
4. H_o: There is no compliance by companies with environmental standards and regulations.
5. H_0: There are no applicable penalties for default by companies of these environment standards and regulation.

Data Analysis Method

The analysis and interpretation of the raw data collected into useful information to provide answer to the research problem is the Data Analysis Method. There are various techniques for data analysis. For the purpose of this research work, tables and simple percentages were used to analyze the data extracted from the questionnaires.

The Z-test will be employed for hypotheses testing. The Z-test statistics is a statistical tool which will be used to test the validity of the hypothesis (null). It is defined as thus:

$$Z = \frac{\bar{x} - \mu}{\sigma \bar{x}}$$

Where; $\sigma \bar{x} = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}$ and

$$\sigma = \frac{\sqrt{\Sigma(x - \bar{x})^2}}{n}$$

$\bar{x}$ = sample mean;
μ = population mean
σ = standard deviation
n = size of items

Data Presentation and Analysis

This section of the study focuses on the organization and analysis of data obtained from the administered questionnaires. This section will present and analyze the data collected from field-work as well as prove the stated hypothesis of the research.

Question 1: Companies in Nigeria are responsible for their host environment.

Table 1

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	74	8.71
Disagree	11	12.9
Undecided	0	0
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

From the above table, 87% of respondents agree to the opinion that companies in Nigeria are responsible for their host environment while 12.9% disagree. 0% of the respondents stayed undecided. We can conclude from the analysis that companies in Nigeria are responsible to their environment.

Question 2: There are no negative effects of companies' operations on their host environment.

Table 2

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	5	5.9
Disagree	76	89.4
Undecided	4	4.7
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

The analysis in table 2 shows that over 5% agreed about 89% disagrees and 4.7% stay undecided that there are no negative effects of companies' operations on their host environment.

Question 5: The effects of companies' operations on the environment are properly managed.

Table 3

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	39	45.9
Disagree	35	41.2
Undecided	11	12.9
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

In the table above, 45.9% of the population agreed that the effects of companies' operations on the environment are properly managed while 35 (41%) disagreed with 12.9% undecided.

Question 6: There are funded programmes put in place to reverse the degradation that has occurred in the host communities.

Table 4

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	35	41.2
Disagree	19	22.3
Undecided	31	36.5
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

41% of the respondents agree that there are funded programmes put in place to reverse the degradation that has occurred in the host communities, while 22.3% disagreed. 36.5% share no information as they stayed undecided.

Question 7: Companies in Nigeria have environmental policy.

Table 5

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	59	69.4
Disagree	19	22.4
Undecided	7	8.2
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

The analysis in the table reveals that 59 (69.4%) respondents agree that the companies have environmental policies while about 22% disagreed. 8.2% of them were undecided.

Question 8: There are disclosures on environmental issues in companies' reports and statements.

Table 6

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	23	27.1
Disagree	45	52.9
Undecided	17	20
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

27.1% of the respondents agreed that there are disclosures on environmental issues in companies' reports and statements. Most of the respondents disagreed while 20% stayed undecided.

Question 11: There are laws and standards on environmental protection in Nigeria.

Table 3

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	78	91.8
Disagree	7	8.2
Undecided	0	0
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

From the table above, 91.8% of the respondents agreed with 8.2% disagreeing that there are laws and standards on environmental protection in Nigeria.

Question 13: There is compliance by companies with environmental standards and regulations.

Table 8

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	60	70.6
Disagree	11	12.9
Undecided	14	16.5
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

70.6% of the respondents as shown in table 7 agree. 12.9% disagree as 16.5% stay undecided that there is compliance by companies with environmental standards and regulations.

Question 15: There are penalties for default by companies of these standards and regulations.

Table 9

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	71	83.5
Disagree	0	0
Undecided	14	16.5
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

It is evident from the table that 71 (83.5%) of the respondents agreed that there are penalties for default by companies of these standards and regulations. Though 14 (16.5%) of them stayed undecided, none disagreed.

Question 16: These penalties apply to companies in Nigeria.
Table 10

Response	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Agree	61	71.8
Disagree	8	9.4
Undecided	16	18.8
Total	85	100

Source: Research Survey Findings.

From the above table, 61 respondents representing 71.8% agree that the penalties apply to companies in Nigeria while 8 of them representing 9.4% disagree. 16 respondents representing 18.8% were undecided.

Hypotheses Testing
This section addresses the hypotheses that were proposed in this work. This research adopted a 95% confidence using z-test.

Criterion for decision making
Accept H_O if Z-cal. Is less than Z-tab.
Reject H_O if Z-cal. is greater than Z-tab.

Hypothesis One
H_o: There are no negative effects of companies' activities on their host environment.
H_a: There are negative effects of companies' activities on their host environment.

Test Data

Questions	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total
1	74	11	0	85
2	5	76	4	85
Total	79	87	4	170

X	$X - \bar{X}$	$/X - \bar{X}/^2$
74	45.7	2088.49
11	17.3	299.29
0	-28.3	800.89
5	-23.3	542.89
76	47.7	2275.29
4	-24.3	590.49
	0	6597.34

$$\sigma = \frac{\sqrt{6597.34}}{6}$$
$$= 33.16$$
$$\sigma\bar{x} = \frac{33.16}{\sqrt{6}} = 13.54$$

$$z = \frac{\bar{x} - \mu}{\sigma \bar{x}} = \frac{28.3 - 0}{13.54} = 2.09$$

Decision Rule: Since Z-cal is greater than Z-tab, the null hypothesis is rejected and alternative accepted.

Hypothesis Two

H_o: There are no funded programmes put in place to reverse the degradation that has occurred in the host communities.

H_a: There are funded programmes put in place to reverse the degradation that has occurred in the host communities.

Test Data

Questions	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total
5	39	35	11	85
6	35	19	31	85
Total	74	54	42	170

X	$X - \bar{X}$	$/X - \bar{X}/^2$
39	10.7	114.49
35	6.7	44.89
11	-17.3	299.29
35	6.7	44.89
19	-9.3	86.49
31	2.7	7.29
	0	597.34

$$\sigma = \frac{\sqrt{597.34}}{6}$$

$$= 9.98$$

$$\sigma \bar{x} = \frac{9.98}{\sqrt{6}} = 4.07$$

$$Z = \frac{28.3 - 0}{4.07} = 6.95$$

Decision Rule: Since Z-cal is greater than Z-tab, the null hypothesis is rejected and alternative accepted.

Hypothesis Three

H_o: There are no disclosures on environmental issues in companies' annual reports and financial statements.

H_a: There are disclosures on environmental issues in companies' annual reports and financial statements.

Test Data

Questions	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Undecided**	**Total**
7	59	19	7	85
8	23	45	17	85
Total	82	64	24	170

X	X – $\bar{X}$	/X – $\bar{X}$/²
59	30.7	942.49
19	9.3	86.49
7	21.3	453.69
23	5.3	28.09
45	16.7	278.89
17	11.3	127.69
	0	1917.34

$$\sigma = \frac{\sqrt{1917.34}}{6}$$
$$= 17.88$$
$$\sigma\bar{x} = \frac{17.88}{\sqrt{6}} = 7.299$$
$$Z = \frac{28.3 - 0}{7.299} = 3.87$$

Decision Rule: Since Z-cal is greater than Z-tab, the null hypothesis is rejected and alternative accepted.

Hypothesis Four

H_o: There is no compliance by companies with environmental standards and regulations.

H_a: There is compliance by companies with environmental standards and regulation.

Test Data

Questions	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total
11	78	7	0	85
13	60	11	14	85
Total	**138**	**18**	**14**	**170**

X	X – $\bar{X}$	/X – $\bar{X}$/²
78	49.7	2,470.00
7	21.3	453.69
0	28.3	800.89
60	31.7	1,004.89
11	17.3	299.29
14	14.3	204.49
	0	5,233.34

$$\sigma = \frac{\sqrt{5.233.34}}{6}$$
$$= 29.53$$
$$\sigma\bar{x} = \frac{29.53}{\sqrt{6}} = 12.06$$
$$Z - test = \frac{28.3 - 0}{12.06} = 2.35$$

Decision Rule: Since Z-cal is greater than Z-tab, the null hypothesis is rejected, that there is no compliance by companies with environmental standards and regulation. The alternative hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis Five

H_o: There are no applicable penalties for default by companies of the environmental standards.

H_a: There are applicable penalties for default by companies of the environmental standards.

Test Data

Questions	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Undecided**	**Total**
15	71	0	14	85
16	61	8	16	85
Total	**132**	**8**	**30**	**170**

X	**$X - \bar{X}$**	**$/X - \bar{X}/^2$**
71	42.7	1,823.29
0	28.3	800.89
14	14.3	204.49
61	32.7	1,069.29
8	20.3	412.09
16	12.3	151.29
	0	5,233.34

$$\sigma = \frac{\sqrt{4.461.34}}{6}$$

$$= 27.27$$

$$\sigma\bar{x} = \frac{27.27}{\sqrt{6}} = 11.13$$

$$Z = \frac{28.3 - 0}{11.13} = 2.54$$

Decision Rule: Since Z-cal is greater than table values of 1.96, then the null hypothesis is rejected.

Summary of Findings

The study through the use of questionnaires evaluated environmental responsibility of companies in Nigeria. In the course of this research study, the following findings were revealed:

1. That the companies have some negative effects on their host environment from their operations.
2. There are programmes funded to reverse the degradation in the environment.
3. There are laws and standards in Nigeria for environmental protection.
4. There are bodies set up to enforce the environmental standards and regulations.
5. There is compliance with environmental laws and regulations.
6. Companies make effort to positively affect the environment.

Recommendations

Taking into account the observations made, the following recommendations have been made for the enhancement of environmental responsibility of companies in Nigeria.

Firstly, companies should make more effort to reduce their negative impact on their environment by incorporating environmentally-friendly practices in their production processes, recycling their waste products.

Secondly, companies should develop environmental management systems which can help them develop effective policies and manage their environment efficiently.

Thirdly, the Government has the principal responsibility for the environment. It should ensure that there is high level of awareness of the need for environmental protection and responsibility among companies and should take up their role in sustainable development.

Conclusion

Globally, awareness has increased over the need for sustainable development through environmental protection and responsibility. The government has a chief role to play in environmental protection and development and create awareness in the public and enforcing compliance with the established environmental standards and laws.

Corporate bodies in one way or the other affect the environment negatively while trying to pursue their goals and objectives. The issue of corporate responsibility has become one of discourse globally as efforts are being made to balance corporate goal of profit and environmental protection. Environmental management system has been seen as an important tool to create this balance.

In conclusion, corporation has no existence without the environment which provides all its resources so it is indeed in their best interest to ensure that the environment is sustained.

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AVAILABILITY, QUALITY AND USES OF LANGUAGE LABORATORY FOR THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES IN COLLEGES OF EDUCATION IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract
This study assesses the extent to which language laboratory establishment improved teaching of languages in colleges of education. The national policy on education, revised standard (2004), stated that English language shall be compulsory and one local language especially at the secondary level. The college of education is established to train teachers in various fields of Specialization, which include languages such as Hausa, Igbo, Fulfulde, Yoruba, French and English language. To realize the objective of this study a variety of literature pertaining to language laboratory were reviewed, populations were identified and samples were selected. Questionnaires were prepared, data collected, instrument validated and tested. The data collected was tabulated and analyzed using simple percentage. The result of the study shows that there are well equipped language laboratories in Colleges. However, students' populations were larger than the available space. Other problems are insufficient facilities or equipment and unstable power supply. There are enough lecturers in the department and many attend workshops, seminars and conferences to update their skills in language teaching using language laboratory. The method used are in conformity with ideal language laboratory teaching and the lecturers and students benefit from using it.

Introduction

Language is a medium of communication and every nation has its main language, which is recommended by its constitution to be offered in schools.

In Nigeria, according to national policy on education FRN, (2004) English, French, Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo and Fulfulde are the main languages taught in Nigerian schools. For a teacher to effectively teach new language, speech correction, vocabulary improvement and other language related activities, he should use language laboratory (Abimbade, 1997).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s language teaching in America and some part of Europe went into crisis. What was done was inadequate. Then there was need for a new method, and it was in the midst of these crises that language laboratory was developed (Underwood, 1984). The hardware was impressive, and great hopes were that advanced technology would save foreign language teaching. Many schools rushed to patronize the idea of using language laboratory (Underwood 1984). But once the hardware was installed, many schools did not get the idea about what it was for. Many of the administrators were mandated to install the hardware, and most of the teachers were convinced by others that the machine will revolutionize foreign language teaching instruction and produce near – native fluency in school (McCoy and Weible, 1984).

Friedman (1998) in university of Georgia USA lamented that language laboratories supported the development of more demanding curriculum materials and restructuring of the learning environments. For both lecturers and students, the laboratories provide audio-visual support for the practice of language concepts discussed in class.

Over the years the researcher has been teaching in college of education and supervising students on teaching practice, teaching language in primary and secondary schools. During the period, it has been observed that these laboratories are not being utilized or fully utilized to enhance students' fluency in speech, comprehension and other related language activities.

There are cases of inadequate language laboratories, inadequate facilities in the laboratories, inadequate lecturers and supporting staff training on the usage of language laboratories and the time allocated for using language laboratories are limited or not there. It is in view of this evidence that these uses of language laboratories may be hampered that, This study is carryout to finding out the extent to which language laboratories can be use to improve the quality of language teaching in our colleges in north eastern Nigeria.

Complaints from language lecturers in the colleges of education are that the language laboratories are not being utilized as they should. The laboratories may be there, but not equipped with all the necessary facilities required for a language laboratory practice. In some cases, the facilities may be available but the lecturers and supporting staff are not well trained on how to use and handle the equipment. Likewise, the facilities and staff may be available, but the allocated time may not be adequate enough to lecture using the laboratory.

Therefore, these problems need to be fully understood before remedies can be outlined to achieve quality use of language laboratories in colleges of education for efficiency in goal attainment.

Objective

The study is to achieve the following:

1. Whether there are language laboratories facilities in F.C.E. Yola, C.O.E Jalingo, F.C.E Gombe, Sir Ibrahim C.O.E Bama and F.C.E Tpotiskum.
2. Whether there are lecturers and time allocated to them is sufficient for teaching languages in the laboratories
3. Whether the method used in the laboratory is appropriate and it benefits students and teachers.

Research Question

(a) Are there language laboratories and facilities in F.C.EYola, C.O.E Jalingo, F.C.E Gombe, Sir Kasim Ibrahim C.O.E Bama and F.C.ET Potiskum?

(b) Are there lecturers and is the time allocated to them enough for teaching languages?

(c) Are methods used appropriate and do students and lecturers benefit from using language laboratories?

Methodology

Population sample and sampling techniques

The population for study is NCE II students of colleges of education and lecturers teaching languages in north eastern Nigeria, specifically Adamawa, Taraba, Gombe, Borno and Yobe States.

The sample used for the research comprises eighty students and twenty lecturers from school of languages in each college. The sample is drawn from various languages combination. Purpositive sampling technique was adopted for the selection.

Instrument of Data Collection

The instrument designed for this research is intended to provide useful information about the quality and use of language laboratories in the teaching of languages in colleges of education. The researcher used questionnaire developed for the study in collecting relevant data.

Questionnaire is by far the most frequently used data collection instrument in educational research. The questionnaires were both structured and unstructured.

Lecturers' questionnaire: this was completed by some lecturers involved in teaching languages such as English, French, and Hausa languages in the colleges of education under study.

Students' questionnaire: the students of each of the selected colleges were randomly selected to complete these questionnaires especially NCE II and III. The questionnaire items were validated by using expert and senior lecturers in the areas to ensure it measures the desired purpose. The trial testing of the instrument was conducted in F.C.E Yola only, in three departments. Some amendments were made and a re-test was conducted, with two weeks interval for re-testing. The paired responses of the two categories of respondents were correlated using measure of central tendency. The mean of 5.40,6.00 were obtained. These judged the instrument to be reliable for their purpose.

Data Admininstration Techniques

The completed questionnaires were administered to the sampled subjects to respond to and for the purpose of analysis. After the completion, they were collected back (that is 460 questionnaires out of 500) and the findings of each of the items were then computed through the use of simple frequency count and percentage.

Result

Question one: the statement of the research question: 1

i. Are there language laboratories and facilities in F.C.E,Yola, C.O.E,Jalingo, F.C.E,Gombe, Sir Kasim IbrahimC.O.E, Bama and F.C.E T, Potiskum?

This sought information on whether there are language laboratories and facilities in the colleges understudy. The response to the questionnaire items was used. The simple frequency count and percentage response of the subject are employed to draw an inference.

Table1: presence of language laboratories and facilities in the colleges understudy

Statement	Responses			
	Yes	%	No	%
Availability of language laboratories	125	92.3	35	11.6
Adequate language laboratories	368	80	92	20
Handling and operating facilities	289	63	171	57

The table above clearly reveals the views of the subjects on the availability of language laboratories and facilities in colleges understudy.

There are availability and adequate language laboratories in the colleges. It is also handled and operated well by both lecturers and students. The percentage of the responses gives the level of agreement to the question raised.

Question two: the statement of the question 2

ii. Are there lecturers and is the time allocated to them sufficient for teaching languages in the laboratories?

This sought information on whether there are lecturers and if the time allocated is sufficient for teaching languages in the laboratories.

To attempt the question, simple frequency count and percentage are used. The response to items on this segment in tabulated.

Table 2: values of percentage of lecturers and time allocated – whether it is sufficient?

Statement	Responses			
	Sufficient	%	Insufficient	%
Lecturers teaching languages	460	100	0	0
Operating the equipment on their own	425	92.3	35	7.7
Utilization and effective use of language laboratories	354	77	106	63
Time for using laboratory	384	83.5	76	16.5

The table above gives the level of agreement to each of the items raised and how the subjects feel about the teaching of language;

operation, utilization and time for using language laboratories, is sufficient to improve language teaching in our colleges understudy based on the responses above.

Question three: the statement of the research question 3:

Are the methods use appropriate, and do students and lecturers benefit from using language laboratories?

This sought information on whether the methods used are appropriate and whether students and lecturers benefit from using language laboratories.

To attempt the question simple frequency count and percentage are used. The responses to items on this segment are tabulated.

Table 3: values on whether the methods used are in conformity and whether students and lecturers benefit from using language laboratories.

Statement	Response			
	Yes	%	No	%
Method is appropriate	425	92.4	35	7.6
Suitable for teaching language	460	100	0	0
Assist classroom learning	454	97	6	3.0
Improve language skills	460	100	0	0
Lecturers and students benefit	458	99	2	1.0
Problems encountered when using language laboratories	416	90.4	44	9.6
General impression	442	96	18	4.0

The table above gives the level of agreement to each of the items raised on method, suitability, assisting classroom learning, improves skills, benefits and problems. From the response of lecturers and students, it is indicated with high degree of response which indicates that language laboratories have significant impact in our colleges.

Discussion of the Findings

The finding of this research revealed that there are language laboratories in the colleges understudy. The laboratories are modern types and the facilities sufficient to take care of students. This complies with National Commission for Colleges of Education (NCCE 2008) directives "that all Colleges of Education must have a well established language laboratory". As supported by Andrew (1975) that language because of its agency and sophistication of facilities in Japan, video tape are replaced by video disc and video players just like in Nigeria interface with computer: that language laboratory are developed and as a result of adequacy of language laboratory equipment it achieved its objectives in the teaching of language internationally, Nigeria inclusive.

It is gathered that time allocated for using language laboratory for practice drilling exercise is enough to improve the language proficiency, because there are enough lecturers in the colleges understudy to teach English, Hausa, French languages, As indicated by Fall 2002. In his research using time in dealing with classroom and language laboratory shows how language laboratories are given less hour than classroom, but students indicated their interest more in language laboratory than classroom.

It is also gathered that the method used is appropriate with practices and suitable for the teaching and learning of language in the colleges. It also benefits teachers and students. As supported by Dakin (1976) and Epting and Bowen (1979) in their views there is no question that language laboratories are ill –suited for presentation of highly communicative exercise with it unquestionable more effective than the classroom learning.

The general impression from lecturers and students in their various colleges indicated that language laboratories improved their pronunciation proficiency, fluency and other language related activities.

Recommendation

Base on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are suggested.

For more efficiency in teaching language larger or bigger language laboratories should be constructed to avoid grouping students for lecturing and drilling exercise. more facilities or equipment such as booths, headphones, microphones and other materials are needed in teaching language in laboratories.

Time should be added to lecturers so that they can demonstrate good skills and commitment to the teaching of languages in the language laboratories.

More lecturers should be employed and lecturers of languages must have adequate professional knowledge and experience of using language laboratories.

Lecturers should devote much of their time in ensuring good selection and appropriate method based on the topic they are going to lecture, and they should use facilities or equipment relevant to the topic.

There should be generator power plant (standby generator) attached to the laboratories so that, in case of power failure during lectures the supporting staff can easily put it on.

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UNIVERSITY–INDUSTRY NEXUS: CONNECTING FOR JOB CREATION

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Abstract
This paper takes a perspective look at improving educational skills through educational curriculum linkage with the world of work. The linkage of theory to practice through consideration of the market enterprises, linking of industries with university education, university private sector linkage, university-university linkage and university-people linkages as a panacea towards giving direction to the educational system which is now at the cross roads due to non-functionality of the curriculum. The paper thus holds the view that universities are to focus on curriculum that is aimed at a growing job market and should expand the production of qualified professionals required by industries. In turn, the industrial sector should supply necessary data and information for research, sponsor programmes and assist in providing necessary facilities for use in the Universities. This would go a long way to ushering in a more positive relationship between the products of the universities and the world of work.

Introduction

Education has been conceptualized as a training programme for constructing and maintaining a human society Afigbo (2002). This definition suggests that there should be a sustained target on the development of societal values which the Nigerian educational system emphasizes. This emphasis has not yielded much dividend principally because the theory that is taught in the Nigerian school system seems not sufficiently linked to the world of work. This paper as it shall reflect thereafter, sought to show how a nation's curriculum should be made more functional through the linkage of theory to practice. These linkages shall be discussed through the following purviews:

- Linking theory to practice
  - Universities/universities linkages.
  - Linking industries with universities.
  - Private sector universities linkages.
  - People linkages with universities.
  - Linking universities with individual Development Centers.
  - Linkage with practicing professionals.

Linking Theory to Practice

The need to link theory to practice is viewed by this paper as one of the cardinal ways of making the Nigerian school curriculum functional. The shift of cultural intellectualism characterized by the world of ideas, realities of culture characterized by conditions of market and customer or client professionalism is indeed clear linkage of theory to practice which will teach firmly the appropriate dexterity and work experience required in the Nigeria educational system and which will manifest in the products of the schools. Azubuike (2007) aptly recognizes this fact in her assertion that it is the responsibility of the school to imbue children with the much needed skills, values and competences that would enable them fit properly into a rapidly changing world. Afigbo (2002) rightly posited that close examination of the Nigerian educational system reveal a yawning gab between theory and practice especially in Nigerian university education - a phenomenon which has rendered Nigerian Academics almost confused about their duties of inculcating the appropriate knowledge.

Literature has it that a university only 'educates' and does not give training. Another school of thought opined that a university do both educating and training. The position of this paper is that a university must educate and also train. This implies that university teachers must be both educators and trainers if the curriculum must be addressed. These schools of thought have for long lived in mutual suspicion of each other. It is erroneously held in many quarters even amongst the educated that the universities do more of theory while the polytechnics are more practical oriented. This view is as erroneous as it is also deceitful. The gab between the schools of thought should be narrowed down.

Do Nigerian Polytechnics and Universities link theory to practice? The Polytechnics will often argue that they are more linked against the universities, while the universities argue contrarily that they are more concerned with research. Both the Polytechnics and Universities should sufficiently link theory to practice. The cardinal thrust of this paper is that it is only through linking theory to practice that education will be beneficial to both the theorists and the practitioners. Ball in (Afigbo 2002) averred that a "society has the right to ask and to demand satisfactory answers if the work we do in Universities is what it wants and needs". This is what social accountability entails. Thus, in the course of linking theory to practice, emphasis should be placed on skill training and work experience for both students and staff.

The concept of entrepreneurship has some relationship with education as it emphasizes creativity, innovation, and managing existing products. Educational products need to be managers just like the physical products sold in the market by the entrepreneurs. Given this connection, one wonders if education and business enterprises go together without interfering with each other. The answer to this question is of course positive as there is rarely any theory without practice. The products of the educational system are feeders of the public and private business enterprises.

This suggests that what is taught in the educational institutions of learning in Nigeria should be relevant to what the employers need. This is because producing without considering the employers will result to failure in education, from where people will begin to perceive that standards are falling. This point stresses the reorganization of the Manpower Planning Boards in Nigeria. It is the Manpower Planning Board that rationalizes the available vacancies in the economy and tailors the programmes of training to meet the needs of the economy. Where this is appropriately done, the issue and problem of wastage as manifested in unemployment will be maximally addressed.

The point is that the Nigerian educational system over-produced certain skills and under- produced in other circumstances. This scenario has no relevance to the world of work in Nigeria. If an economy requires specific professional skills, it should be the responsibility of the Manpower Planning Board to say exactly what quantity and quality of these skills that the economy can cope with within that frame.

Status of University Graduate Employment

Unemployment among university graduates seem to be growing at an alarming rate in Nigeria and in Ekiti-State in particular. According to Oyebade (2003) Official (conservative) figures show that the national unemployment rate has been on the increase. From 4.3 percent in 1985, it rose to 5.3 percent in 1986. It shot to 7.0 percent in 1987 but dropped to 5.1 percent in 1988 .By 1997 the rate had increased to 60 percent and had steadily maintained an uprising. The report published by the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) 2001 further revealed that the universities and other tertiary institutions in the country produce an average of 120,000 graduates each year while another 500,000 school leavers or college graduates are turned out each year, without any hope of getting jobs.

Although NAPEP admitted that figures were not available on the number of unemployed, the Agency said that 50 percent of the unemployed were youths. Okon (2004) and Idumange (2004) both agree that the Nigeria economy is undergoing

recession and that before 1999 most government owned companies were comatose. Presently many manufacturing industries are grounded. Many workers have been laid off thereby adding to the problem of unemployment.

Under this situation most graduates are forced to accept jobs that are unrelated to their specialization and these jobs that cannot sustain them because they receive wages far below the expected wages of those working in standard establishments. Akangbou (1985) and Nwadiani (1995) lamented that the growing rate of unemployment is due largely to the fact that the educational system is expanding much faster than the economy. The result is that graduates who do not have marketable skills cannot be employed in the world of work- a trend that has made people to perceive contemporary education as investment in frustration (Idumange, 2004).

This paper thus submits that Nigerian universities in order to be functional in their curriculum should chart a new direction focusing on entrepreneurial activities. The mission of universities should now be the linking of theory to practice so as to be able to make the benefits of their research relevant to the socio-economic transformation of Nigeria.

Universities/Universities Linkage

The concept of 'taking the gown to town' as espoused by North whitehead (1962) that "a merely well informed man is the most useless bore on God's earth. What we should aim at producing is men and women who posses both culture and expert knowledge in some special direction". This philosophy of North whitehead has relevance after several years of postulation. He wrote that 'the immediate need of our nation today is large supply of skilled workmen- men with inventive genius and of employers alert to development.

In another direction, the cooperation of universities both locally and internationally should be emphasized. There should be adequate synergy between the various universities. The Governing Councils of universities have the duty of approving the establishment of joint appointments in the nature of either adjunct or honorary senior lecturership, readership and professorship and the concept of professor at large. Although this co-operation has already been instituted, more needs to be done to make university education more qualitative and functional in Nigeria and beyond. Afigbo (2002) believes that such joint appointments are today imperative due to the wave of increased scarcity of high level manpower in academics that possess adequate practical experience in university education world wide. Maduewesi (2005) concludes that concern for quality is uppermost given the growing importance of trans-boarder education provisions in the wake of globalization of education.

Linking Industries with Universities

Today, it is obvious that either public or private individuals cannot adequately fund universities. The idea of liberalization and deregulating the management and provision of education supports this fact. The focus here should be to link universities with industries through the legislation of a body that will be made up of corporate friends of universities. In order to provide skill training, Nigerian educational programmes should link universities to industries through linkage programmes with companies (Onah 2002).

Private Sector – Universities Linkages

The private sector linkage with universities would expose universities to the world of business. The linkage of Enugu State University of Technology (ESUT) with UTC PLC has yielded over very positive results. Enugu State University of Technology Linkage with PAN Ltd linkage has also brought about experience on Peugeot car assembly and technology to the university. In this way, academics are brought into content with ethereal world and are made to contribute and participate in the euphoria of finding

solutions and solving problems from where they could reap accruals and compensations due to their efforts Thomas in (Afigbo, 2002).

People Linkages with Universities

The involvement of people in the management of universities through setting up University Parent Associations, Parent development committees, establishing board of trustees for the universities and setting up the universities development fund. It is through this fund that research into areas of need will be facilitated. It is hoped that the liberalization/deregulation will increase private individual's participation in the education enterprise.

Linking University education with individual development centers

Capacity building of the educational curriculum will be promoted if the universities will in this era of globalization focus on building foundation of science and technology as well as industrial parks to provide for nurturing twenty-first century entrepreneurs for Nigeria industrial change within the macroeconomic variable of the economy.

Linkage with Practicing Professionals

This involves linking the educational system curriculum with practicing professionals through a scheme of collaboration of industrial/commercial training. The workshop should serve as field laboratories, for instance, the department of mass communication should establish links with federal radio corporation of Nigeria (FRCN), the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and other related media organizations.

Strategies for Enhancing University-Industry Interaction and Empolyment

University education is a public good. Business and government leaders count on universities to provide occupational training for individuals to enter professional and public life. In today's labour market, employers of labour attach much importance to graduate employability which refers to work readiness or possession of the skills, knowledge, attitudes and commercial understanding that will enable new graduates to make productive contributions to organizational objectives soon after commencing employment (Mason, 1999). It is essential that the synergy between universities and industries be enhanced so as to reduce the problem of unemployment. Some strategies for boosting the synergy between universities and industries as gleaned from Adegun (2009), Enukoha (2004) and Mkpa (2004) include:

- Expansion of the production of qualified professionals in different fields as required by local organizations and industries. Many of these professionals are needed for the social, economic and political development of the state. For example, the number of medical personnel, engineers, lawyers, scientists and technologists etc. to service the local needs in the state are not sufficient to meet the present demand. This expansion should also include capacity building for managing and improving the basic and secondary education system. This can be in form of training and re-training whether through workshops, seminars, conferences etc.
- Each university should provide quality teaching materials, textbooks and equipment for teaching the students in the classrooms, laboratories, field trips etc. In addition, the libraries should be stocked with current and relevant reading materials, audio/visual materials to ensure that the instruction given is current and that their potentials are fully maximized.
- Distance education programme using existing course modules obtained through negotiated rates for core courses should be introduced. Reformed teaching methods establishing stronger emphasis on problem based learning, where problems are taken from the domestic reality as well as integration of local practical experience in study programmes should be incorporated.

- Expansion of equity mechanisms in university education could facilitate more degree holders with potentials. An individual with such certificate must be able to think of getting a viable job or even create jobs based on the knowledge acquired and his experience, ability and endowment.
- Sustaining university programmes and activities through adequate financing will enhance better relationship. This can be in the form of income generation drives, expenditure reduction, resource mobilization and internal efficiency drives. Although universities are presently enjoying the contribution of the Education Tax fund (ETF), yet there should be other ways of assisting the university financially. Non-governmental organizations, corporate bodies, wealthy individuals should rise up to salvage the university education and establish more industries in the state.
- Science and technological development is very essential especially now that the nation is advocating for technological advancement. There should be capacity for strategy formulation, monitoring, evaluation and promotion of research to meet development strategies. Efforts should be made to disseminate the research findings from university to local industries. Industries should ensure that such discoveries are made use of and even marketed.
- The use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) is now in vogue in all organizations, industries and all spheres of life. ICT is internally used by the university students either to disseminate or retrieve information. The industry provides the ICT facilities for development and almost all industries now make use of ICT as a form of access to global knowledge. As a result of the use of ICT, many have become employed in cybercafé business centers, telecommunication industries etc thereby reducing unemployment. The ICT should link industry and university and enhance better understanding and growth of the two sectors.

Conclusion

Nigeria has no option than to move and make the educational curriculum relevant to the needs of the Nigerian society so that the employability agenda of the client will be guaranteed. This has to be through appropriate applicability of theory to practice. "Manna" no longer falls from heaven, even if it still falls; there is the fear that the demographic upheavals in Nigeria are capable of limiting its impact. Nigeria should broaden their funding base through the adoption of market orientation; enterprises and entrepreneurship in order to break loose the shackles of retrogression and join the ranks of the developed world that enjoy functionality in the world of work.

Recommendations

The following are recommended to enhance the synergy between the University system and the world of work.

- Universities should take practice to ensure that theory is linked with practice.
- Provision of infrastructures that will enhance the applicability of theory to Practice by the proprietors of schools and government.
- The link of professionals to professional bodies should be highly encouraged.
- There should be linkage of the educational curriculum with Industrial Development Centers.
- Universities should have joint research on a number of issues. This Collaboration will help to unravel the difficult areas of learning and working.
- Industries should be encouraged to have some practical linkages with Universities. This will afford learners practical experience in their chosen disciplines.
- Universities should be linked with multinational corporations relevant to the various disciplines.
- Academic staff should be transformed through retaining to embrace the emergence of entrepreneurship.

- The Manpower Planning Board should be reorganized so as to be able to rationalize existing vacancies in the economy and tailor the programmes of training to the needs of the economy.

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THE CONFLICT THAT SHOULD NEVER OCCUR: A STUDY OF THE UMUAHIA SHARIA VIOLENCE OF 2000 AS A RIPPLE EFFECT OF THE KADUNA SHARIA CONFLICT

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Abstract
The subject of conflict and violent conflict has been part of inter-group relations in Nigeria. Social interaction between communities and societies is another important aspect of human existence. Peoples enter into relationships as a result of many reasons ranging from economic, social religious and political. The Umuahia cattle trading community was established as a result of the economic needs of the peoples of Southeast and South-south parts of the Nigerian area. Volumes of evidence are available to show that the two peoples have been in contact for a very long time trading not only in cattle but exchanging other important items of trade. The 2000 sharia riot at Umuahia created a very big loophole in the more than a century long harmonious inter-group relations of the two peoples. The conflict was a counter attack as a result of a violent conflict that took place in the Northern part of Nigeria in the city Kaduna following the introduction of the Sharia law which claimed the lives of some Igbo people. There was significant level of inter-group relations between the Cattle Trading Community and the peoples of the Southeast and South-South. This made the two peoples to trust one another to the extent social relationship in the form marriage was contracted between them. The activities of the Cattle Trading community cut across several other sectors of human activities. The paper will adopt a multi-disciplinary method and interviews will be conducted to ascertain the authenticity of the available sources. Also primary and secondary sources will be consulted in the course of this study.
Keywords: Conflict, Umuahia, Nigeria, Cattle Trading Community, Inter-group Relations

Introduction

African civilization is not measured by the heights of tall buildings but by the quality of human relation[1].

-Owen 'Alik Shahadah

Post-colonial Nigeria have undergone many challenges when it comes to inter-group relations. Umuahia too had seen many of these challenges especially during this period. In this study we are going to look at these challenges and analyze them based on the outcome it has produced in Umuahia. It is very clear that even though the peoples of the Nigerian area have been in close contact with one another since pre-colonial days, British colonial activities have intensified these contacts by the creation of one country out of the different nations. Colonialism however created a kind of false consciousness among the various diverse peoples of Nigeria to the extent that even new identities were constructed and made to reflect the true nature of the Nigerian state in an erroneous manner. The basis of the colonial system was divide and rule. This aspect was perfected in the Nigerian area by the various colonial policies on social relations in the Nigerian area. This social relation was especially pervasive in the North where the *Sabon Gari* and *Tudun Wada* phenomenon was introduced and perpetuated.

The situation in the Eastern Provinces was different, in the sense that there was the encouragement of mingling of the peoples of the Eastern Region with the "migrant" community especially those originally from the North. This was in the hope that the "natives" would adopt the system of the people of the North especially their elaborate and more "superior" political culture and organization. This would make the task of the colonialist easy, where they adopt their system of the so-called "Indirect Rule". This will

explain why any colonial official that was posted to Umuahia District first of all pay a visit to *Sarki* of the Cattle Trading Community i.e. *Sarkin Hausawa* of Umuahia.

This study recognizes the fact that inter-group relation in the post-colonial period is conflict ridden in Nigeria[2]. This conflict could be violent or just the presence of tension among the people. At the termination of our study on Monday, 28th February in the year 2000, there occurred one of the bloodiest of conflict in the history of the cattle trading community in Umuahia Ibeku. Our investigations included finding out what went wrong. What has been the situation in the past, how comes this violent conflict and most importantly, why now? We have seen that over the years the peoples have lived in considerable harmony. Though, there was the existence of harmonious relationship over the years, the crisis of 2000 showed that the conflict was as a result of pent-up anger over the years. This was especially so after the Nigerian Civil War. The riot as the people used to refer to it or conflict came about in retaliation of the attack that was carried out on some Igbo elements in Kaduna the previous week. It was alleged that a lorry-load of dead Igbo people was brought to Awka or Aba or Onitsha. This was what provoked some Igbo elements who took up arms against Northerners in the South-East and some parts of South-South.

This crisis led to the dispersal of the Cattle Trading Community with many going back to the North. Few of the members of the Community remained in Umuahia. Many of the members of the Community relocated their families to the North only coming to Umuahia for business. By this time though, the cattle market had been relocated to Okigwe in Imo State. The cattle market was relocated to Okigwe because in 1994 the then Military Administrator of Abia State in person of Col. Ike Nwosu had forced the cattle market to be moved to Ubakala, another part of Umuahia, because the present market was situated right in the heart of Umuahia town.

Since the establishment of the community and cattle market up to 1994 when the market was relocated to Okigwe, there was no record of hostility between the people. After 1994, without the cattle market in Umuahia, which was serving as the binding force of socio-economic relationship in Umuahia, inter group relations began to deteriorate. This came to a head in the year 2000 when one of the bloodiest conflicts took place in Umuahia. This happened in retaliation of the previous week's ethno religious conflict in Kaduna and other Northern Nigeria cities. Even though on this occasion, the direct involvement of the people of Umuahia was late, they were encouraged by the coming of the dreaded *Bakassi Boys* from Aba to Umuahia. This conflict completely transformed the socio-economic landscape of Umuahia and Eastern Nigeria.

The Land and Peoples of Umuahia to 1914

Umuahia is situated on the Eastern Nigeria Railway line and developed from sprawling rural community into thriving commercial centre. Umuahia is located on the North-East of Owerri in Southern Nigeria; it is found on latitudes 05.32° North Longitudes 07.30° East[3]. Umuahia is 681 square kilometers in size and it is situated at the junction of some important trade routes, which radiates to Owerri and Okigwe to the West, Ikot Ekpene to the East, Aba to the South and Uzuakoli to the North[4]. The town Umuahia is characterized by wooded green vegetation, and the two well-known seasons; the rainy season (May-October) and the dry season (November-April) thus placing the town within the Rain Forest climatic zone[5].

Umuahia is a city that grew out of the everyday commercial activities of the people of *Ibeku* and their neighboring communities and the migrant populations. Umuahia Township is a city located within *Ibeku*. The City of Umuahia as it is now is made up of seven *Ibeku* villages, they included *Afarata* or *Amuzukwu* to the North, *Afara Ukwu* to the south, *Nkata* to the North East, *Ohokobe Ndume* to South East, then *Osaah* and *Ugwunchara* and *Emede* villages to the West. It is sometimes called *Ibeku Egu Asa*[6]. This is one of the five clans that made up this town and it is interesting to note that the

various places that the cattle market was located were all within *Ibeku*. On the whole however, the study area is made up of some 79 villages all scattered around these five clans of the town, *Ibeku*, *Olokoro*, *Ohuhu*, *Umuokpara* and *Ubakala*[7]. During the era of British colonisation Umuahia was administered under these five clans. This arrangement was for the purpose of facilitating and operating easy administrative and judicial system under the British.

Umuahia-Ibeku is located on top of a foot hill that is a part of the Cameroon mountain range that sloped into the Imo River. The hill flattens as it passes *Ubakala* to become one of the even graded paces in the Eastern part of Nigeria to the edge of Atlantic Ocean at Port Harcourt. This includes all *Ngwaland*. The city of Umuahia *Ibeku* has expanded a lot into the surrounding villages and many have found themselves in the middle of the crossroads heading in and out of the city. Umuahia-*Ibeku* has different names: *Ugwuocha*, *Ugwu Nchara*, *Ogwumabiri* all referring to the trading post at the center of the city serving all other villages whose market days are to come or have passed in the tradition of buying and selling using market days; *Afo*, *Nkwo*, *Eke*, *Orie*. There are four (4) market days that trades only once a week. Thus we have *Afo nta* and *Afo ukwu*, *Eke ukwu* and *Eke nta*, *Nkwo nta* and *Nkwo ukwu*, *Orie nta* and *Orie ukwu: nta* stands for small while *ukwu* stands for big. There is always one big market day in a week. This allows the Umuahia *Ibeku* market to serve as a central point for all others for cheaper goods[8].

Umuahia as a town is cosmopolitan in nature; though a chiefly Igbo town, it was a combination of almost all the "major" and "minor" ethnic groups in Nigeria. The attraction was on the commercial viability of the area and the opportunities available on the environmental and economic levels. This therefore led to the converging of various peoples on the town and gave the town a kind of national and international outlook. There would not have been Umuahia without migration and by implication migrant communities[9].

There are five clans: *Ibeku*, *Olokoro*, *Ohuhu*, *Umuokpara* and *Ubakala*[10], that made up Umuahia today but one clan; the Ibeku clan was to play one of the most important roles in the life of the cattle trading community in Umuahia. In turn also the cattle trading community was to also impact on the life of the people of Ibeku in general[11].

Like many other places in Nigeria Umuahia was peopled through the means of migration. The peopling of the area started many years ago as a result of the development of long distance trading in the Nigerian area. Umuahia area serves commercial purposes more that security purposes though[12]. The economic factor is therefore paramount, however, this is not overruling the security factors as well as other significant factors as can be seen in the push and pull factors of migration. The environmental factor was also very important in peopling the Umuahia area as the area is abundant in fertile land. This support the agricultural activities of the people that crops like cassava, yam, corn were farmed not only for domestic consumption but also to feed neighbouring villages. This had always been the attraction of the various peoples that decided to make Umuahia home.

Nature of Inter-Group Relations between the Cattle Trading Community and the Igbo 1960-1970

The period following the end of colonialism witnessed no serious change as such in inter-group relations in Nigeria. Yes, it was true that Nigeria had gained independence and that it was now being ruled by its people but most of the structures of colonialism were never dismantled but reinforced. The shape of Nigeria was already cast in the image that the colonialist had made. These structures now serve the leaders of Nigeria that took over from the colonialist. Evidence to this fact was the civil war of 1967-1970 which as we have seen had its roots in the colonial experience of Nigeria. The Nigerian Civil War was a response to one ethnic group against an action alleged to have been

taken by another ethnic group. This is the basic fact of the cause of the Nigerian Civil War.

Nigeria continued to be together all these while however, as well as the fact that nothing changed in its configuration. Because the people still see themselves as belonging to the various regions and ethnic groupings, not Nigeria as an entity. There was total absence of patriotism on the part of Nigerians. The country as an entity was not their concern but their ethnic identity. Evidence of this was even bloated by Awolowo when he said that Nigeria "is a mere geographical expression[13]." This was a fundamental defect in the way some people saw Nigeria and still continue to see it.

The nature of the relationship between the Cattle Trading Community and the people of Umuahia can best be described as one that has undergone many transformations. It is these transformations that we wish to study. This will enable us to understand and even describe the nature of the relationship between the two communities. Just like in many Nigerian cities the concept of settler/indigene dichotomy is present. There are those who were regarded as strangers or *mbiarambia* in Igbo. The members of the Cattle Trading Community fall under this category. It was not uncommon to hear an Umuahia person talking about how they own the land. What you hear on these occasions are: *eba bu ala anyi* and *la ala unu*, Trans.: this is our land, and, go back to your land. This was especially the case during and after the years following the end of the civil war.

In general the situation has never been the same over the years. The nature of the relationship can best be described as cordial in general subject to development in other parts of Nigeria. Especially after colonialism certain developments that have to do with the colonial history and experience of Nigeria began to manifest themselves in the process of the political practice of the country. These developments culminated into what some people especially in the Eastern Provinces called injustice to their people.

On the subject of socio-economic interaction our informant recounted how the Igbo are free and are found in many places and he said that wherever you went and you did see an Igbo in that place you should leave the place[14]. This was being overzealous on his part of course, but what he was trying to say was that the Igbo are a business minded people who travel far and wide to conduct their trade, any type of trade. He claimed also that there was no any other city that the Hausa enjoyed their stay in Nigeria than in Umuahia. This we believe was stating the obvious as people like Alhaji Inuwa Idem and Alhaji Yusuf Bello were of the same opinion[15]. So far our evidence has shown that that was the case, that they had more freedom in Umuahia to the extent of owning more than half the town before the outbreak of the civil war. The problem was that according to our informant they were not able to sale their religion to the people of Umuahia[16]. He blamed this situation to ignorance and lack of education or illiteracy.

This made the people to see Islam as the exclusive preserve of the Hausa that when one of the Igbo convert to Islam he was seen as someone who has become Hausa. This created a kind of discrimination on the part of the members of the Community towards the Igbo. The people of Umuahia wanted the rapport between them and the Community to be stronger to the extent as we gathered that the people of Umuahia used to refer their case to the *Sarkin Hausawa* for arbitration in the past.

Our informant who is an Igbo but a Muslim lamented on how this issue of discrimination had affected social relationship. He also brought up the issue of the fact that his kinsmen regarded anything Islamic as belonging to the Hausa, that when they see an Igbo Muslim they call him *Onye* Hausa or even a Yoruba Muslim they call him *Onye* Hausa, this signify that he has automatically become Hausa. This was a very serious problem as far as Islam which is the religion of the Community and the Igbo are concerned. This therefore affected social and cultural integration between the two communities. It however, did not prevent social relations and integration in the form of interchange of ideas and socio-cultural and economic practices.

This "Hausa" concept of Islam has prevented the Igbo from embracing the Islamic religion. The situation is like this: Islam was seen by the Igbo as a language group thing and he already had his language which he cherished so much. The Igbo is culture conscious to the extent that he would not allow anything that would affect his culture – *ome na ala*. This was the thinking among the Igbo. This notwithstanding, some of the Igbo did embrace Islam especially those women that married from among the members of the cattle trading community. This conception created different levels of inter-group relations in the Umuahia area and Igboland in general.

On the issue of inter-marriage it was not reciprocal as the Igbo willingly gave out their daughters out in marriage to the members of the Community once they are able to fulfill the traditional rites i.e. *ome na-ala*. But for the members of the cattle trading community even if you are a Muslim but not Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri etc. it was difficult to marry from them. Recounting his ordeal when he was staying at Katsina, Alhaji Ali Okiwo was refused a wife because he was not Hausa though he was a Muslim[17].

Aspects of Economic, Social and Political Relations in Umuahia

Johnson H. Pongri in his definition of inter-group relations sees it as the interaction between social groups (sex, class, ethnic groups, religious groups, etc.) in large political set ups like countries or in smaller territorial organizations, such as regions. In a more enlarged way he defined inter-group relations as the interaction between social classes or groups (race, sex, class, occupational, religious, ethnic, communal, etc.) in large political set ups like nations, territorial organizations such as regions or in small communal organizations like ethnic groups and the conflicts which arise from such interactions. It should be noted, he wrote, that inter-group relations also entail accommodation and integration processes which take place over a long period of time. However, in all political organizations, the process of integration and accommodation is constantly threatened by various inter-group contradictions. Going further he posited that inter-group relations involve cooperation and conflicts. At a given time, he continued, preceding historical developments determine whether cooperation or conflict would characterize inter-group relations in a given geo-political area[18].

From the concept "inter-group relation" one will see a clear picture of peoples interacting with one another. But that is not where it stops. The crux of the matter is that in the Nigerian area we are dealing with plethora of groups who have had varied aspects of historical processes and developments. This was in light of the fact that Nigeria is made up of many ethnic groups who have related with one another for a very long time before the advent of colonialism. One will therefore expect how they related with one another was built on the facts of the needs of the various peoples. It has been recognized by scholars that the various Nigerian peoples have had a long period of interaction between themselves. Their argument was built on the facts of geography as well as economics, social, religious and political[19]. In essence, no ethnic group in Nigeria was an island unto itself. This in effect is what inter-group relations is all about and what it is.

The people of Umuahia and the Cattle Trading Community have had a very long history of relating on many levels. Being an occupational community the economic aspect of the relationship is more pronounced than the social and political aspects. This was to be expected, but we should not lose the fact that these factors complement each other. One cannot exist without the other. A people of different cultures and coming from a different geographical zone do so based on the level of exchange. This exchange was of many kinds ranging from commodity exchange which is economic to social and political[20]. This was something that had been going on for a very long time since the beginning of time. One has no control over it and neither can it be eliminated or even controlled. This was because it was linked to the fact of the survival of man.

On the economic sphere the interaction was more pronounced in the sense that the primary role of the community was the trade in cattle with the people of Umuahia and

their neighbours from far and near. Ever since the discovery of the commercial viability of the Umuahia area people engaged in buying and selling have been frequenting the area. It was in the process that some of them decided to establish permanent residence in the area. Economically the two communities depended on each other and in essence they benefited from interacting on this level.

Like most emergent Nigeria urban centers, Umuahia Town was compartmentalized after colonial domination. The Hausa Community lived closer to *Gariki*, in the Northern parts of town[21]. Middle-class civil servants clustered around the broad stretch between Bende Road eastwards, past School Road and until Chekwas Cinema, and southwards past Azikiwe Road all the way to Umudike-Ikot-Ekpene Road[22]. Most of those who were engaged in commerce either lived in the town proper, or "over rail" towards Uzuakoli Road. The indigenes lived mostly in their homesteads. The Government Reserved Area (GRA), where the Ridge Club, Premier's Lodge and Government Polo Field were located was a hub that linked the extensive Okpara Road to Ibiam and Ridge Roads[23]. It was in that secluded and highbrow area with their ubiquitous guard dogs and luxuriant shade trees that many resident expatriates and their well-to-do Nigerian counterparts resided[24].

Just as Umuahia was a storied town with many pleasant human-interest memories for its sojourners, it also had some unpleasant sides. Quite in contrast to its peaceful nature, Umuahia of the 60s also had certain dark sides; political thuggery was commonplace and over time, festered[25]. In those days, Umuahia was reputed as a place where hired political thugs, threw buckets of acid on the political opponents and their supporters without any qualms[26].

The Nigerian Civil War: Causes and Impacts, 1966-1970

The Nigerian Civil War, also known as the Biafran War, July 6, 1967–January 13, 1970, was a political conflict caused by the attempted secession of the Southeastern Provinces of Nigeria as the self-proclaimed Republic of Biafra[27]. Created as a colonial entity by the British, Nigeria was divided between a mainly Muslim north and a mainly Christian and animist south[28]. Following independence in 1960, three provinces were formed along ethnic lines, the Hausa and Fulani (north), Yoruba (south-west), and Igbo (south-east). Ethnic tensions increased after a military coup in 1966 led by, an Igbo, which was followed by a northerner-led counter coup a few months later. Aguiyi-Ironsi was killed and widespread reprisals were unleashed against the Igbo. Fearing marginalization within the state, on May 30, 1967 the Igbo-majority province declared its independence as the Republic of Biafra[29].

The conflict was the result of economic, ethnic, cultural and religious tensions among the various peoples of Nigeria. There is no denying the fact that the causes of the Nigerian civil war were exceedingly complex. The different political systems among the peoples of Nigeria produced highly divergent sets of customs and values. These tradition-derived differences were perpetuated and, even enhanced by the British system of colonial rule in Nigeria.

The British political ideology of dividing Nigeria during the colonial period into three regions North, West and East led to the development of economic, political, and social competition among Nigeria's different ethnic groups on a proportion never before known in the Nigerian area[30]. For the country was divided in such a way that the North had slightly more population than the other two regions combined. On this basis the Northern Region was allocated a majority of the seats in the Federal Legislature established by the colonial authorities[35]. Within each of the three regions the dominant ethnic groups, the Hausa and Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo, respectively, formed political parties that were largely regional and ethnic in character: the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the North; the Action Group in the West (AG) and the National Conference of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in the East. Although these parties were not exclusively

homogeneous in terms of their ethnic or regional make-up, the later disintegration of Nigeria results largely from the fact that these parties were primarily based in one region and one ethnic group. To simplify matters, these can be referred to as the Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo-based; or Northern, Western and Eastern parties[31].

The conflict was the result of economic, ethnic, cultural and religious tensions among the various peoples of Nigeria. Some scholars also believe that, Nigeria was an artificial structure initiated by the British which had neglected to consider religious, linguistic, and ethnic differences[32]. We will like to say though on our part that the British were well aware of this unique situation of Nigeria and actually utilize it to their advantage in their efforts to maximally expropriate the resources of the country. Nigeria which won independence from the British in 1960 had at that time a population of 60 million people consisting of nearly 300 differing ethnic and cultural groups[33].

The Nigeria Civil War which lasted between July 6, 1967 and January 13, 1970, was fought between the Federal Government of Nigeria and those of the Eastern Region which had unilaterally declared itself the Republic of Biafra. Nigeria declared war on Biafra to force her back to Nigeria[34].

Aftermath of the Civil War

After the Nigerian–Biafran War, Igboland was devastated. Many hospitals, schools, and homes had been completely destroyed in the war by the Nigeria forces. In addition to the loss of their savings, many Igbo people found themselves discriminated against by other ethnic groups and the new non-Igbo federal government[35]. In desperation, some Igbo subgroups, such as the Ikwerre, started disassociating themselves with the larger Igbo population after the war and this was encouraged and rewarded immensely by the central government as a means of curbing a future Biafra. The post-war era saw the changing of names of both people and places to non-Igbo sounding words such as the changing of the name of the town of *Igbuzo* to the Anglicized *Ibusa*[36].

Due to the discrimination, many Igbo had trouble finding employment, and the Igbo became one of the poorest ethnic groups in Nigeria during the early 1970s and thousands of them, especially the middle class migrated en-mass, especially to the United States for better life[37]. Igboland was gradually rebuilt over a period of twenty years through well-orchestrated age group organizations, Town Union organizations and community clubs and mandatory community levies and the economy was again prospering[38]. This led to new factories being set up in Southern Nigerian cities like Nnewi, Aba, Onitsha, Owerri and Asaba[39].

Very few Igbo people eventually took government positions, although many were engaged in private business and constituted and still constitute the bulk of Nigerian informal economy[40]. And still control an estimated 70% of Nigerian micro economic wealth. Recently, there has been a wave of Igbo immigration to other African countries, Europe, and the Americas[41].

The Return of the Community from "self-exile" 1970

With the end of the Nigerian Civil War and the commitment of the part of the Nigerian government especially with slogan of "No Victor, No Vanquished" it was not long before the people started coming back to Umuahia. Some of the members of the community did not even go far though they scattered all over Nigeria. Some people stayed at Makurdi, Otukpo, Auchi, etc[42]. some were following the Nigerian army as they moved deep into the eastern part of Nigeria in their conquest of the area. With the declaration of the end of the war there was further influx of not only the original settlers but even new ones.

Sarki Adamu Oseni who was the *Sarki* during the outbreak of the war stayed at Kaduna when he and other members of the community were taken out of Umuahia by the Nigerian Army. In 1970 when the war ended he visited Umuahia but only to sale his

assets in form of landed properties and other things[43]. These included his house at No. 7 Eket Street/No. 8 Cameroun Street as well as the Mosque occupying No. 5 Eket Street[44]. On arrival and making his intentions known to the people about selling the Mosque other members of the community that had no intention of going back to the North decided to buy the Mosque. They therefore, contributed money and paid *Sarki* Adamu who gathered his money and family and left for Kaduna[45].

It is important to note however, that the war was not a barrier to the movement of people in Nigeria. Even the during the war population of the community received some boost with some people migrating into the Igboland from the North[46]. This was made possible by the fact that some of the Southern cities were captured by the Federal Army and they were able to secure the place and made it possible for people to live in. Most of those came where also traders who used to sell things to the soldiers. There were also those who wanted to join the army during the war but who were either disqualified or their parents did not approve.

The year 1914 marked the beginning of era in the history of the community being the year that cattle trade started in a large scale. Before the establishment of the cattle market the people were engaged in trading in items such as clothing, items of beautification, etc. cattle trade before this time was on a small scale and the cattle used to be brought to Umuahia via Abakaliki. The trade was to grow steadily until the outbreak of the civil war. Also the year 1970 as we have said marked the beginning of an era which ended in 1994 with the relocation of the cattle market from Umuahia to Okigwe. The years in between 1967 and 1970 was the period that the cattle trade was disrupted as a result of the civil war following the coup and couter-coup of the year 1966.

Challenges faced by the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia 1970-1993

With the end of the Nigerian Civil War a new way of interaction between the peoples of Nigeria developed. This was when perception of the two people changed. There was no doubting the fact that the people of Nigeria began to see one another in a new light. Business was however, not affected by the change in attitude of the people. The challenges that the people had to face were on the area of social interaction as well as political representation. Socialization and political interaction took a different shape.

During the war some members of the community were captured by the Igbo, especially girls and were forced to marry their captors[47]. One case stood out, but there may be more. There were also several cases of houses belonging to the members of the community being confiscated and they could not do anything about it. There were also cases of credit being advanced by the members of the community that could not be recovered due to one reason or the other. There were however those who were sincere enough to bring back what they owed members of the community as a result one transaction or another before the war. This was the situation of things up till the 1980s when things began to go back to normal in terms of acceptance and trust in the social and economic arena.

By the 1980s Umuahia cattle trading community and market had regained it lost glory. What was most important in this respect was the international status that the cattle market was to take[48]. By this time people from all over West Africa used to come to Umuahia either to trade in cattle or in other businesses including butchery or *fawa* in Hausa or in other business conducted by the members of the community. These are the people who are engaged in roasting the meat into the popular *suya*. Some of these trades include also *koli*. This trade as we have seen earlier was among the trades that brought the firsts settlers to Umuahia.

In essence therefore the challenges were to manifest themselves both in intra and inter-group levels as it were. Social relations were to change also as well as the economic relations. The political organization of the people was to be affected too in a way that

was to affect all facet of the community. Things were no longer the same, all however had their causes in the way things had developed in the previous years.

Ethno-Religious Conflicts and the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia 1970-1994

Ethno-religious conflict is an important variable in the study of inter-group and intra-group relations and one that the scholar must not ignore. It is therefore, out of this realization that we decided to look into the issues in details. We did so in order to be able to link it with the changing nature of inter-group relations in this part of Nigeria. This is a significant period in the history of inter-group in the Umuahia area and the eastern part of Nigeria in general. Because this was the period that followed after the Nigerian Civil War which saw the eastern part of Nigeria playing host as the theatre of war. The effect of such a role is not farfetched. The dimension that the war took from the very beginning was to lead to the mistrust and tension that existed between the two Communities under study. It was therefore to affect the way that they related with one another in the long-run.

For various reasons ethnicity has been a major subject in the social sciences for the past several decades. It has become a source of debate in the field of political economy, where many scholars have investigated the relationship between ethnicity and civil war, growth, institutions and violence using econometric tools[49]. This recent spurt of activity has not, however, been accompanied by significant efforts in pinning down ethnicity as a concept. With the recent exceptions of Fearon and Laitin and Gil-White, scholars have avoided asking hard questions about what exactly ethnicity is and how it is different from other terms in the social sciences like "caste" and "race[50]." It is in light of this realization that we wish to discuss the concept of ethnic group and other related concepts.

Relocation of the Cattle Market and the New Outlook in Umuahia 1994-2000

The lifeblood of the Cattle Trading Community in Umuahia was the cattle market. Its location is also a very important determinant of the continued existence of the Community in an area. The market is usually located at the out sketch of the town. Urban development was one of the factors that led to its relocation by the government and by the people themselves over the years. On this particular occasion it was relocated to Ubakala, a village located in Umuahia South Local Government Area. It is important to note that even before this current move by the government to relocate the cattle market to Ubakala, the community through it leader as from 1986 had been pressurizing the government to relocate the cattle market. Sarki Abbo has been pushing for the government to give them a new site for the cattle market. Had the government hided his advice the market may not have been taken to Okigwe in Imo State.

The location of the cattle market had been changed several times but it was all within Umuahia to and especially within the villages of the Ibeku clan since its establishment in around 1895. The reasons for the relocation had been either because of urban development which in itself was as a result of the establishment of the market in that area bringing people to live close by. The town will therefore grow to meet the market which will force it to relocate. It has also been relocated as a result of the intra-group politics in the community.

On this particular occasion (1994) it was proposed by the Military Administrator of Abia State to be relocated to Ubakala. This decision was arrived at after consultation with the leaderships of the community, along the line though the intra-group politics was to play a significant role in not making it realistic. Several areas were inspected such as Ofeme, before Ubakala was finally chosen[51]. This was also the first time that the market was relocated to a place outside of Ibekuland, for the cattle market had always been within the Ibeku clan villages. There was as a result a connection between the people of

Ibeku and the cattle trading community because of the long time that the people spent together. Over the years then they had come to be socially compatible to the extent that quite a number of people of Ibeku especially those that earn a living in the cattle market which were many can speak the Hausa language too without being even once to the North.

This was possible only because of the long time that the peoples had been living together and because of the understanding that existed between them. The Fulfulde language was another language that was spoken by though a small number of the people. This language was particularly spoken by the butchers who were in constant contact with the cattle traders. This is a very significant development, one that had played a very important role in fostering a cordial relationship between the people of Umuahia and the cattle trading community. The cattle trading community had over the years become synonymous with Umuahia town to the extent that the level of acceptance of the members of the community into Umuahia and later Imo State and Abia State affairs was one of the highest in the East.

Establishment of Ubakala Cattle Market by the Abia State Military Government

The government after reviewing the location of the cattle market in Umuahia which had been there since 1950 decided to establish another market away from the hustle and bustle of the township which had developed to meet the market. Many factors were considered in consultation with the leaderships of the community in choosing a location. The government had been receiving complaints from the members of the community and from other residence of Umuahia about how inconveniencing the cattle market in the middle of the town had become. That was when it decided to establish the Ubakala cattle market to include the abattoir too which had also became a serious case of hygiene being located in the Umuahia main market. There was another slaughter house at the cattle market which was serving those who were engaged in doing business of cooking in the cattle market.

After finishing the preparations for the relocation of the market several dates were given in which the market will have to go move to Ubakala. Many of the dates came and went without the people relocating. When the government got tired of giving the community concession it therefore resorted to threat and it issued an ultimatum that come 15th May, 1994[52] the people must leave and failure to do so will be met with severe action. It was the military and they have spoken so they people obeyed but only to relocate to Okigwe on that same date.

As we have stated already there was an abattoir in the Umuahia central market which was serving the entire town. Because it was not far from the cattle market those that slaughter at the central market usually had their cows trekked sometimes in their tens or hundreds to the abattoir. This was also part of the menace that the cattle market had become at Umuahia and it was appreciated by both the members of the community and other residence of Umuahia. The trekking of the cattle to abattoir was done usually around six pm when the people were coming back home and they used encounter problems with the cattle to the extent of being injured or even killed. Because the cows were many it used to disrupt traffic and cause serious hold-up. Not to mention the tens and hundreds of cattle that used to be trekked to other neighbouring villages and the tens and thousands of cattle that were loaded into Lorries, Trucks, Trailers and pick-up vans to other cities and town in the East and South-south.

In the average the number of cattle that were brought to Umuahia over the years had more than quadrupled from ten thousand (10,000) per annum in 1928[53] to more than fifty thousand (50,000) in 1994. The population of the cattle and the town had grown without any commensurate effort to expand or relocate the cattle market since 1950 when it was relocated to Amuzukwu (Afarata) village. The place therefore became not only an eye

sore but the worst case of hygiene especially during the rainy season which used to be very long in Umuahia.

When the government took the decision to relocate the cattle market it consulted with the leadership of the community. The community was also by this time divided into two camps with one camp headed by *Sarki* Digol and the other camp headed by *Sarki* Hayatu[54]. Two sites where inspected and chosen as the possible places to locate the cattle market one was the Ubakala site which was located off the express way to Aba and Port Harcourt and another one at Ofeme village on the express way to Okigwe and Enugu. Upon seeing the two sites the community was divided as to which one to choose but in the end the Ubakala site was chosen because it was away from the express road and therefore there was no danger of accident occurring due to the high way. The government therefore went ahead to endorse the Ubakala site and subsequently moved to clear the place to make it conducive for habitation. At first all were in favour of the decision but along the line the preparations were high jacked by a few people who ended up with more stalls than was available for distribution. This did not go well for especially the *Sarki* Hayatu faction and some of them therefore moved to look for an alternative site. For instance *Sarki* Digol alone allocated up to ten plots to himself.

According to A.Y. Bello in the heat of the move to relocate the cattle market to Ubakala by the Abia State Government, there occurred misunderstanding especially between him and Sarki Digol. It was also as if the Military Governor had promised him something if he was able to make his people relocate, because on one occasion they were summoned by the Governor himself among whom were Alhaji Bako, Alhaji Aboki. Upon going to see the Governor they met *Sarki* Digol already seated. Before they could even settle down the Governor pointed at A. Y. Bello and said "so you are A.Y. Bello, I give you twenty four hours to pack your cows and leave[55]."

Their search brought them to Okigwe in Imo State. At Okigwe there was a piece of land that was given to the Muslim Council to build a mosque and a school[56]. But the land was not developed only a small mosque was built on the land when those that represented the faction headed by *Sarki* Hayatu in the person of Alhaji Musa Reza, Alhaji Aboki Umar Bare and Alhaji Yusuf[57] got to Okigwe they decided to make this site the cattle market pending when the government will build a permanent site for the market[58]. The presence of the mosque must have been one of the attractions for the choice of the site though other mosques were later built in the cattle market. This place was therefore made the cattle market taking over from Umuahia.

Meanwhile in the Ubakala site many social amenities were provided or were slated to be constructed by the Military Government[59]. Though one will not say they were enough but many were abandoned especially when the Community showed no interest of relocating to Ubakala. This move by the majority of the community was to affect inter-group relations in Umuahia in the sense that the presence of the cattle market was one the factors that had been sustaining the cordial relationship between the people of Umuahia and the community. This market was no longer there and therefore the presence of the people was not felt like before. It was therefore somehow easy to cultivate resentment against the community in the long run.

It is our belief that the cattle market had fostered good inter-group relations over the years in Umuahia. The economic as well as the social benefits of the market to the town was many. Over the course of the history of the cattle trading community in Umuahia there was no any single violence against the members of the community even during the civil war of the ethno-religious type that had characterized crisis in Nigeria after the colonial era.

Establishment of the Okigwe Cattle Market in 1994

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Military Government the people, however, had a different understanding of the reason behind the move by the government to relocate the

market away from the centre of town to a rural area[60]. Again the exercise was also high jacked a few people who allocated themselves the best and majority plots. There was also the question of being used to the town by the Community for this was a market that was established in this area even before colonialism took full root in Nigeria. As early as the 1920[66] the cattle market at Umuahia was the distributing centre for the Eastern and South-south areas of Nigeria as well as the entire Southern Provinces of Nigeria. It was therefore not an easy decision by the majority of the community to move to Okigwe[61].

With the identification of the site came the task of clearing the land and the building of stalls and offices by the people. Plots were allocated from the *fatomas*, to the highly placed members of the community, to groups and associations as well as for school and mosques[62]. One can say that everyone was given his due and that was how the Okigwe cattle market came to exist completely taking over from Umuahia which had played host to the cattle market since around 1895. As we have seen also the relocation of the cattle market did not lead to the relocation of the community at all. The members of the community used to go to Okigwe from Umuahia to attend the market and return[63]. Everything was intact as far the community was concerned. They saw no reason to make Okigwe home because they considered Umuahia home enough. Most of the people that were sleeping in Okigwe were mostly the *falke* who brought his cattle for sale and the *gainako* who tend the cattle. The *yan kasa* in Hausa or *amaala* in Igbo referring to those that were born in Umuahia occasionally sleep at Okigwe[64].

They used to go Okigwe and come back home to Umuahia after the days' business. This was the situation of things until 28th February, 2000 when the community was forced to leave Umuahia as a result of the ethno-religious crisis that had engulfed some parts of the North later spiraling to the East with reprisal attacks in Aba, Umuahia, Owerri, Onitsha etc. on the "Hausa"[65].

It is important to note that this was not the first time that Nigeria had experienced ethno-religious crisis, especially in the North. What is significant was that it has never resulted to reprisal attacks on people of Northern Nigeria origin living in the East and particularly in Umuahia, by implication the community[66]. We should remember that during the civil war it was only in Umuahia that Northerners were not killed; in fact they were even protected by the Igbo whom they were living with[67]. The community was at home to the extent that by the year 2000 crisis, the community believed that they were safe in Umuahia and rightly too. It was not the people of Umuahia who first launched an attack on the community. The *Bakasi Boys* from Aba were the ones who came after attacking the Northerners at Aba to attack those at Umuahia. Before this time no one member of the community believed that they could be victims to the attacks. It was therefore a surprise to them when it happened on that fateful day in February 2000.

Relocation of the Cattle Market to Okigwe 1994-2000

This takes place as a result many reasons and factors but it is important that we recognize the fact that the Military Government under the Governorship of Col. Ike Nwosu and its actions were largely responsible for making this possible. Let us also recognize the fact that the cattle market which was usually located in the out sketch of the town, the town had developed to meet up with the cattle market, therefore the relocation of the market became inevitable. Considerations of the relocation started when the cattle when purchased and were being trekked to their various destinations disrupt traffic and were causing series of problems to the resident of Umuahia town. It was only logical to look for an alternative location to cite a new cattle market[68].

But majority of the members of the Cattle Trading Community had other agendas. They therefore used many means ranging from persuasion, propaganda and even what we consider to be superstitions to make the rest of the Community not to relocate to the Ubakala where the Military Government of Abia State gave them. This was despite the fact that the new site was to serve both as a cattle market and an abattoir. This was to

ease hassles and cost of transporting the animals to the abattoir which used to be in the Umuahia central market. Ubakala is a distance of an estimated 6 to 7 kilometers from the centre of Umuahia town unlike Okigwe that was even located outside the State in Imo State and a distance of an estimated 65 kilometers from Umuahia town.

On the 15th May, 1994, the Abia State Government under the leadership of Col. Ike Nwosu relocated the cattle market at Umuahia to Ubakala[69]. It was this same date that the Okigwe cattle market started and became functional. The rationale behind majority of the members of the Community deciding to relocate the cattle market to Okigwe can best be explained as we said earlier by the sentiments that they were harbouring. These sentiments were all as a result of the polarization of the community into two opposing camps. This was to play a significant role in relocating the market to Okigwe.

In the process of the relocation to Okigwe many factors were employed to convince the members of the cattle trading community and some were outright fabrication. For instance there was this reason ascribed to what the Sardauna of Sokoto, Ahmadu Bello had said about locating the cattle at Otukpo at the border between the East and North Regions. That he had told them they should never go backward. Looking the Ubakala site it was on the going to Aba, further into the Eastern region. This was a common story being spread in the market to disuede people from going to Ubakala. The extent to which these stories helped in making the people to choose to go to Okigwe instead of Ubakala was evident in citing the market at Okigwe. However, we can also see the desperation of the group that wanted by all means not to go back to Ubakala based on the injustice done to them in allocating the shops and stalls to the people.

Aftermath of the Relocation of the Cattle Market Out of Umuahia 1994-2000

This move created a big strain on inter-group relations in Umuahia as we have already explained. What is important to note here is that even after the relocation of the cattle market to Okigwe a greater number of the members of the Community still remained in Umuahia. Some segments of the people of Umuahia see this as an affront while others see it as a welcome development[70]. Even as the cattle market contributed to the economic development of Umuahia and was a constant source of revenue for the government there were still those who do not see this. This was because they felt that they were not directly affected by the cattle market. For those whose livelihood was from the cattle market this was a devastating development as the cost of doing business increased with them traveling over a long distance to buy cows to slaughter[71].

It was a disaster as this increased the price of beef and other products that were easily gotten through the Community. The disaster was to manifest itself in the nature of inter-group relations in the town. Though the relocation of the market did lead to relocation of the per se their presence was no longer felt as before when the cattle market was still in the town. The outcome of the relocation of the cattle market therefore did not spell well for the two communities that have been together in harmony for a very long time then. This conclusion is not hard to arrive at as it was to become true with the sacking of the community in 2000. Majority thereafter went back to the North to settle and all took back their families back to the North, just the men therefore remained in Okigwe this time since the market was no longer in Umuahia.

The belief within the cattle trading community of Umuahia was that no matter the deteriorating nature of inter-group in Nigeria the situation in Umuahia was never going to change. The reason for this belief is not far-fetched. Nigeria is known for bloody ethnic clashes especially from the 1980s. There was never a case of reprisal attacks in Umuahia in all the instances of the violent ethic clashes. This belief was responsible in making the members of the community not even entertain any fears of being attacked by their "host". The members of the cattle trading community were very confident of the inter-group situation in Umuahia. This is because people regarded themselves as being one as a result of the long period that they have been living together[72]. The general

opinion was that the people are safe in Umuahia. According to Dee Friday he has this to say in relation to how long the members of the community have been living in Umuahia: "*o te la ka Hausa bi soro na Umuahia*.[73]" Translated roughly it means: "it's been long Hausa people have been living in Umauhia". This long period of interaction is enough to relax the mind of the people not to talk of the absence of hostilities between the two people.

Also in our interview with people like A.Y Bello and Alhaji Inuwa Audu Idem they also told of how no any Northern community in the Eastern part of Nigeria that had benefited in their stay in the East than the cattle trading community at Umuahia[74]. In all major cities and even in the villages there were pockets of people of Northern Nigerian origin in the Eastern part of Nigeria. They live in those places and conduct their business there but all refer to Umuahia for any issue. For instance even when Owerri was the capital of Imo state when Abia State was not created the Amir-ul-Hajj come from Umuahia among the cattle trading community there. The Muslims at Owerri and any other town and village in the former Imo state come to Umuahia for their Hajj fare at Umuahia. The man in charge of the Muslim Pilgrim Board was for a long time Alhaji Danazumi Sharubutu who is now late. The Imo State Government also used to sponsor members of the community to the Holy Land to perform Hajj. The Abia State government was to take over this responsibility also still under Alhaji Danazumi Sharubutu before his death. By the year 2000 it Alhaji Yusuf Bello that was the chairman of the Muslim Pilgrim Board. He resigned however immediately after the year 2000 crisis.

The move by the members of the cattle trading community to relocate the cattle market from Umuahia in Abia State to Okigwe was made in part to spite the Abia State government. It was also a means of the expansion of the frontiers of the community in the Eastern part of Nigeria. This was because even with the relocation of the cattle market the people still remained in Umuahia only going to Okigwe to conduct their business and come back to Umuahia. There were many of the members of the cattle trading community who never slept at Okigwe since when the cattle market was moved to Okigwe and many reasons can be advanced for this action. This move did not go well with the people of Abia State as a major source of revenue was lost and this was the beginning of the problem of the community. But also with this movement the frontiers of the cattle trading community was extended in Eastern Nigeria.

As we have indicated several reasons can be advance to explain why the people refused to relocate entirely to Okigwe. Compared to Umuahia Okigwe was a virgin land as the first few years there were cases of snake bites involving not only human being but also the animals. The fact that the people were used to the Umuahia environment to risk complete relocation to Okigwe. It was also just a little above 45mins drive from Umuahia to Okigwe. Umuahia was also an urban area bigger than Okigwe and the members of the cattle trading community were used to urban life. At Okigwe one could not get all his essential needs.

The "Sharia Riot" of February 2000

In February 2000, the state Governor of Kaduna State made attempt to adopt Sharia legal system in the state in answer to the yearnings and aspirations of the Muslims for Sharia to govern their existence as Muslims. But their Christian counterparts vehemently resisted the move. The Christians trooped out in large number under the aegis or auspices of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) to protest against the system[81]. The protest according to reporting was peaceful until 12.00pm when violence erupted at the central market. What precipitated the violence was not ascertained; the Christians claimed they were attacked first by their Muslim counterparts, while Muslims asserted that the Christians started the crisis by killing a Muslim and burning of a Mosque situated at Kano Road[75].

For three days, there was total breakdown of law and order in the state capital and a 24 hour curfew was imposed on the capital and its environs[76]. The fracas was characterized by killings, maiming, arson and looting throughout the period in the capital except Barnawa settlement in the southern part of the state capital which was spared[77]. The crisis spread to Zaria, Kachia and other towns in the state. The police disclosed that 609 people lost their lives to carnage while about 100 persons were injured[78].

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) said mass burial was given to unidentified bodies totaling 325 Christians who lost their lives in the mayhem[79]. Apart from this figure, it was reported that some of the victims were buried by their relations while some were burnt beyond recognition and some thrown into river Kaduna. The Muslim community claimed that over 100 Muslims were killed in the crisis[80].

It is worthy of mention that, when the bodies of some of the victims arrived at their hometown in the eastern part of the country, reprisal attacks were unleashed on other ethnic groups especially Hausas[81]. Aba was the starting point of the attacks, it later spread to Umuahia, Owerri and Uyo[82]. About 300 persons seek refuge in the military barracks throughout the eastern region while the crisis lasted[83]. This researcher and his family after spending seven days hidden by their Landlady were transported to the Owerrinta Navy barracks[84].

It is beyond argument that the effect of the violence in Kaduna could be perceived by the reprisal attacks in the Eastern part of the country and there was the fear at the time that the entire country may be engulfed[85]. However, this culminated into sporadic mass movement of people to their places of origin. By the end of the crisis just a handful of the members of the community remained in Umuahia. Those that came back after the crisis however, left their families in the north and only come to the eastern part of Nigeria to carry out their trade. However, gradually now the community has expanded into three major eastern cities of Umuahia, *Okigwe* and *Lokpanta* conducting the business of cattle trading.

Monday, 28th February year 2000 is a day that this researcher and many others who were affected by it will never forget in a hurry. The day started like any and every other day, an ordinary day. It started with the normal every day routine as we used to have, little did we know that it would turn out to be one of the most disastrous of all the days of our lives and probably for the rest of our lives we would never witness such a disastrous day full of mayhem and destruction of lives and property. This was in Nigeria that saw the many parts of Nigeria plunging into one form of conflict or the other[86]. That without a conflict abating in one part of Nigeria another part will just take up. From Lagos to Kano, Kaduna to Umuahia, Aba, Onitsha and this is to mention but a few of the places that witnessed one form of brutal conflict or the other and all of them very destructive in terms of lives and property[87]. And worst still these conflicts dealt a very deadly blow to the once shaky trust that existed between Nigerians made up of many different ethnic groups and religions.

This day, Monday, 28th February 2000 was a day that changed the lives of many people of northern Nigerian extraction resident in Umuahia[88], the Capital of Abia State in particular and Nigeria in general. This is a story of what can be regarded as man's inhumanity to his fellow man, a day that man turned to beast and descended against his kind in the most brutal of ways maiming and killing, not to talk of the destruction of properties worth billions of naira that took many years to be built. It shows how man can employ brutal violence to settle the most trivial of issues. This riot or conflict or whatever thing one choose to call this madness saw to it that people became refugees in their land. They were no longer safe. They risk losing their lives if they venture out in the streets. The method employed by the rioters was very callous and barbaric for, they first of all slaughter their victim and eventually set him or her ablaze[89]. If you are a lady they will first of all rape you and then kill you and set you ablaze[90]. The events were not

sweet to recount. But for the purpose of history it is important to tell it so as to avoid another occurrence[91].

Though some people may explain the situation based on trivial issues it was a situation that can be attributed to a time bomb waiting for a long time to explode especially since the Nigerian Civil War. The recent development in many parts of Nigeria that have to do with attacks on people of Nigeria of Igbo extraction. The conflict in Kaduna is the precursor for the conflict in Umuahia[92]. This, however, is a conflict that has many perspectives and this is because it involves many people across the broad spectrum of Nigerians who were affected by the conflict in different ways.

For years after the Nigerian Civil War 1967-1970 the two communities have been living together as one, sharing many things in common and that was why when talks of possible attacks got to some of the members of the community they could not even bring themselves to believing it. They were therefore taken by surprise. In fact most of them were saved by their neighbours and their landlords or landladies who were Igbo[93]. They were kept in their houses some of them for as long as seven days where they were been fed day and night. It was a development that most of them shiver when they remember and would not even like to be reminded about. For a very long time after the riot and after they have been saved they do not even want to talk about it because it used to be as if they are not yet safe. It has become like some kind of psychological trauma.

Monday, 28th February 2000 was the day that reprisal attacks were carried out on people of northern Nigerian descent who were residents in Umuahia[94]. It started from Aba and later spread to Umuahia where many people were also killed. The previous week that is on Monday, 21st February 2000 a similar incident had taken place in Kaduna town and the target just as in Umuahia were people who are believed to be strangers in the land or who are not from the same religion. In Umuahia the targets were Hausas and the definition of Hausa in Igbo means all the people from the northern part of Nigeria, it does not matter whether you are a Fulani man a Kanuri man or even a Kataf man and a Christian[95]. Once you are from the north you are a Hausa man and you are therefore target for elimination. The atrocities that took place during this time are beyond description both in Umuahia, Aba, Kaduna, Kano, *Shagamu* and many other parts of Nigeria[96].

But as it would happen also Umuahia was peaceful until the coming of the *Bakassi Boys* from Aba to meet with some undesirable elements did the people were attacked. What happened in Umuahia was a result of reprisal attack on what took place in the previous week at Kaduna in what have become known as the *Sharia Riot* of 2000[97].

The significance of this event to the understanding of the history of the cattle trading community in Nigeria is paramount. Each member of the community has one or two stories to tell in relation to the event and of their travails throughout the period of the crisis. There were those who had to trek from Umuahia to Okigwe to escape being killed. They undertook this journey by travelling through the *go-go house forest* and when they were no vehicle on the main road they will use the main road. Those that were not able to go out of Umuahia were hidden by their friends who were Igbo and are not happy with what was happening.

Conclusion

The community and the cattle market as we have seen were to become so deeply rooted in Umuahia that it was difficult to relocate the market. But for the iron hand of the military the market may not have been relocated when it was relocated. The government had issue quit notice after quit notice but the people did not bulge. They were however forced to relocate when the military governor in the person of Col. Ike Nwosu threatens to deal with them.

Before this time they had delegated some of their own to go and for an alternative site possibly outside Abia State. That was how they came to the Okigwe site which had

already being allocated to the Muslim Council to build a school and mosque. The mosque had already being constructed and must have been what attracted the people to choose the place. The place was then for temporary cattle market before a cattle market is built as the Government of Imo State promised then as well as the local government. They were all after the revenue which the cattle market was to bring the area and with the establishment commercial activities also picked up in the area.

As we have seen also this was to affect inter-group relations adversely. This a contributing factor to the changing nature of inter-group relations in Umuahia. Before this none of the member of the community ever dreamt that a day would come when their stay in Umuahia will come to an end. That day was to come on the 28th February, 2000 when riots broke out that led to the most violent attack on the people ever in Umuahia.

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ANIMAL SYMBOLS AS GATEWAY TO THE DIVINE IN TIV RELIGION

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Abstract
Aside earthly objects, heavenly, plants and natural phenomena, the Tiv also 'read' the divine via animals. Animals abound in Tiv cosmological myths, folktales and physical environment where many take anthropomorphic and spiritual characteristics. This is because, the Tiv have imagined certain animals including birds, especially those with nocturnal or strange habits, as being carriers of the human soul. They also see these animals as spirits from the unseen world, some with greater potency than others. Stemming from this background, the paper sought to show-case the Tiv use of certain animals to access the spiritual and mystical realms. Using the phenomenological and library methods of research, the study investigated animal symbols as gateway to the divine in Tiv religion. The findings of this investigation reveal that: many adherents of Tiv religion use animals to receive messages from the spirit world. The Tiv also use animal symbols to enhance their powers to the divine or to confuse and frustrate it through divination, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. The paper recommends that since animals constitute the religious ontology, they should be revered and preserved rather than exploited. Also, that much attention should be placed on studying and understanding the behaviour of animals by religious practitioners and scholars for more religious uses and benefits. Most significantly it recommended that humans especially in traditional societies be educated on sustainable hunting practices so as to ensure a continuous supply of animal resources.

Introduction

Throughout history, Africans like other races associate certain animals with the manifestation of God's divinity, immanence and immortality. While they think of some of these animals as incarnations of ancestors and bearers of news, they also imagined certain animals and birds, especially those with nocturnal or strange habits as carriers of the human soul or as spirits from the unseen world, some with greater potency than others. Owing to this, Africans with their power of intuition understand that some creatures are more akin to the deity than others. They also understand that many of these animals have intuitive powers and simultaneously traverse the physical and spiritual worlds and as such can be employed in the achievement of certain goals negatively or positively.

In an attempt to unravel the subject in question, this paper is divided into four segments. The first briefly looks at the Tiv classification of animals. The second considers animals as channels to the divine. The third center on animal imageries as gate way to the divine in Tiv religion and the fourth examines the religious and social impact of the Tiv use of animal symbols.

Conceptual Clarification

To enable one get a clear picture and understanding of the subject, there is need to clarify some key concepts. These include animal, symbol, divine and animal symbols.

Animals are the most diverse forms of life on earth. An animal is a member of the kingdom *Animalia*, it is any living organism which has certain characteristics that differentiate it from a plant. Animals range in size from 30-m (100-ff) long to 0.05 mm (0.00.2 inches) long. They live in a vast range of habitats; from deserts and Arctic tundra to deep-sea floor. These animals constitute the religious ontology of the Africans. Many are linked to peculiar religious ideas and notional impressions relating to the divine.

A symbol is a term, a name or even a picture that may be familiar in life and yet possesses specific connotations. Abanuka defines symbols as "the images by which man seeks to express concretely, what [he or she] thinks about the relationship, between the material and immaterial, the visible and the invisible aspects of the universe" (6). Symbols are variously classified into four which include artistic, communicative, natural and ritualistic. Artistic symbols are images or emblems used to represent physical or spiritual entities. Examples of artistic symbols are the *Ogun* of the Yoruba, *Ofo* of the Igbo, *Imbyorivungu* (owl emblem) of the Tiv among others. Communicative symbols are those that are used specifically to relay concepts, ideas and information between the physical and spiritual world e.g animal tattoos. Natural symbols are acknowledged by believers and/or by a particular community whose members have identical beliefs to their common experiences. Natural symbols commonly acknowledged in traditional Africa include animals, plants and other phenomena like the moon, rivers, stars, stones, the sun, valleys, and wind. Ritualistic symbols are "those that are used either in a ritual itself or involve a ritual in the mind of the initiate" (Nabofa, 12).

The term divine or divinity is broadly applied and used variously with different belief systems and faiths among individuals to refer to some transcendental power, deity or its attributes. Contrary to the teachings of Christianity and Islam where divinities are conceived as agents of the devil and rivals of God, African religion sees divinities as the children of God. Indeed, in the African society, they are the traditional gods of the people with priests/priestesses, medicine men and diviners chiefly connected to them.

Animal symbols are the channels by which human beings, directly or indirectly tap spiritual powers. Such animal symbols in Tiv religion find expression in *akombo* (divinities/mystical forces) which mediate between God and humans symbolised by their cultic emblems. Supporting the claim, Gbenda says, "akombo are divine-human and are representatives" (68). It is interesting to note that animal symbols fall under natural symbols which are artistic, communicative as well as ritualistic and are employed for religious purposes.

Tiv Classification of Animals

The Tiv, broadly classify animals into two groups- *nyamkyume* and *nyam ki ya*. *Nyamkyume* are the fierce animals that are rarely domesticated and live in the wild, hence they are also referred to as *nyam tohô*. *Nyam ken ya* are the domesticated animals which are largely non-fierce. *Nyamkume*, among the Tiv include among others: *anyam* (leopard), *bagu* (monkey), *begha* (lion), *bua-u-Tiv* (Tiv native cow), *chongo* (fox), *nor* (elephant), *yar* (buffalo) and *Inyon* (birds) like *Apu* (vulture), *avungu* (owls), *gbev* (standard winged night jar), *iguve* (eagle), *swande* (violet turako) and *iyô* (snakes) such as *kyarem* (green snake), *kyume* (python) and *gungun* (mystical snake). Among the people, *nyamkyume* often time than not represent the strength and might of the Supreme Being. The *anyam* like the *begha* is used to represent the aggressiveness or vivacity of the ancestors. Such that hunters no matter how powerful they might be, find it extremely difficult to kill them. Indeed, the very aggressiveness of these *nyamkyume* symbolise the fierce sanctions of the ancestors like one writer, according to Parrinder, says, "**…** are peculiar apt symbols for the immortality of ancestors" (140). To Gbenda, "If any hunter dares to kill any of such animals, the ancestral spirit would pursue such a person for revenge" (97).

Nyam ki ya on the other hand, range from *kpatuma* (cat), *ivo* (goat), *iwy*a (dog), *nyinya* (horse), *yongu* (sheep) and *inyon* (birds) such as *ikyegh* (chickens) among others. Both the *nyamkyume* and *nyam ki ya* (fierce and non-fierce animals) are harnessed by the Tiv for divine purposes.

Animals as Channels to the Divine in Tiv Religion

In Tiv religion, "it is believed that everything has spiritual and psychical counterpart" (Downes 40), this is applicable to animal, vegetable and mineral. Supporting this belief,

the *ityo* (elders), responsible for life and death in Tiv land, possess symbols for obtaining or renewing of the necessary vital force *tsav* (witchcraft), with which to maintain or increase fertility in all aspects, to guard the people and ward off evil. However, some elders neglect their functions or use their powers for their benefit to the detriment of the *tar* (community). In which case, it is not uncommon to hear and/or see a Tiv in his or her visible part leave his or her body during life and give that invisible part a form occupying the body of a bird, or reptile or insect, as presumably he or she can after death. Analyses of some animals which the Tiv use as symbols of accessing the divine are as presented:

The *Anyam* (leopard)

Anyam (leopard) is so revered among the Tiv. To this end, the progenitor of the Tiv is named Takuruku Anyam Azenga, meaning Takuruku, the Leopard son of Azenga. The Tiv conceive that *anyam* is the supreme prowler, superior to all living *mbatsav* (witches) who stand in awe of him and are powerless in his presence. Given the centrality of the *anyam*, it is common in the traditional Tiv community for a person to take the cover of a leopard's skin in the *akombo Igbe* and chase out the *mbatsav* (witches). In the initiation rite for this *akombo Igbe*, the *Anyam* is imitated by a man in a leopard costume; the loud breathings and snoring of the leopard are made by him with his mouth fixed in a gourd as the *Igbe* procession passes round the compound where the activities of the *mbatsav* are suspected to be carried out. The actual elders would then announce: 'The *Igbe* has come forth, the leopard has come out'. Though the identity of the individual who acts the leopard may be known it is considered the real thing. This *anyam* symbol according to Downes "causes witches caught by it to be afflicted with dysentery" (51). Hence, the word *Igb*e itself, is the ancestral word for leopard. It is also said by the Tiv that the *anyam* skin as it were worn by *or kombo biam* (priest of biam) on all the rare night cult occasions- inspired so much awe.

An Igbe (leopard symbol)

The *Bagu* (monkey)

In Tiv society, stories are often told of how some Tiv transform into beasts of prey, prowling in the night while leaving their mortal bodies asleep at home. Stories of the Tiv having *nyôr bagu* or *nyôr nor* (metaphorical expressions literally meaning, entering into a monkey or an elephant) abound. A *bagu* symbol is known to be owned in some Tiv communities and this have a very serious impact on the people. This explains why much -a- time, a lone hunter who is not very sure of his protection powers will not shoot at the animal when he meets it. Downes corroborating the claim says:

Emblems of wild cats, monkeys etc ... denote the object in which their external souls could reside. "Though incomprehensible to us, the use of emblems is simple to the Tiv, to them, these things are more than symbols- they are the actual things they represent. (31)

***Bua-u-Tiv* (Tiv native cow)**

Bua-u-Tiv is regarded as fierce domestic animal which the people equate to human life. This also explains why the Tiv are very cautious in presenting a *bua* carelessly, the understanding is that the moment the animals perceived to be offered wrongly at occasions as it is regarded, the immediate death of a family member(s) becomes inminent. In Tiv society, *bua-u-Tiv* is used in "housing" *ikyav* (sacred property) of the religion and culture within a given *tar* (community or Tiv land). In Iine with the Tiv traditional practice, the *bua-u-Tiv* is not slaughtered by ordinary people, except those who have obtained the spiritual powers from the *ityo* (council of elders).

The *Nyinya* (horse)

In Tiv religio-cultural and social life, the *nyinya* signifies, among other things, strength; high speed and it is used for defence during wars. Owing to this, the *mbatsav* like humans have the horse symbol known as *Nyniya i mbatugh* (night horse). This *nyniya i mbatugh* may be a little imitation of the horse or just a little bridle attached to a ring on which the person could ride. Also, "it is symbolised by a carved wood in the form of a horse and used for nocturnal and paranormal activities" ... (Torkula, 91). The Tiv use the *nyniya i mbatugh* when chasing malevolent *tsav* to protect themselves against evil spiritual forces. A night horse like the *imbyorvungu* deity can be purchased and used as private mystical mode mobility. An elder in a part of Tiv society, using the *nyinya i mbatugh* was reputed to have raised a young girl from the dead. As a matter of interest, Downes who traced out the case said:

> The girl about ten years old was away with her mother at the home of her people about 40 miles distant and the news reached the girl's father by what we call 'bush telegraph' that she was dead. The father, as the custom is, approached the elder at once and he dispelled his fears … went off that night himself to investigate. He brought the girl home to her father the next evening alive and well. … the elder went to fetch her on a *Nyniya i tugh* (night horse). (32)

In Tiv cosmology, the *nyinya i mbatugh* also forms part of the dreaded *ikyav* (articles) which sight and touch by an uninitiated attract a human sacrifice for the cleaning of the profanation.

***Iywa* (dog)**

The *iywa* (dog) in the Tiv world-view is believed to have a third eye which makes it to see things, not only in the physical but also in the metaphysical. Owing to this, the *iwya* is quite prominent in the art of witchcraft. It sees witches, evil spirits and apparitions. As such, it is able to detect and to bark fiercely at people with evil intentions and at invisible beings like ghosts, spirit, which cannot be seen by human, but are disturbing or passing through in the community.

Also, when the *iwya* grunts, while there is a whirl wind, it indicates a person's presence in the whirlwind. Besides, when its cry is heard, especially at night it is believed by the Tiv that a bad omen is imminent; this informs the people that someone was soon going to die. In addition, if a dog is found digging the ground while crying, it communicates the sure death of someone within a nearby family or in the neighborhood. The Tiv witchcraft practitioners also use *ambi a iwya* (dog's faeces) to collect dangerous weapons from their enemies without difficulties to help them notice remain unseen during a spiritual fight with their opponents.

The *Inyon* (Birds)-Apu, Avungu, Gbev and Swande)

Religious or mystical birds abound in Tiv religion. These include *apu* (vulture)**,** *avungu* (owls), *gbev* (standard winged night jar) and *swande* (violet turako) among other birds of nocturnal habits. The Tiv even refer to *Apu, Avungu* (owls) and *Swande* as *inyon i mbatsav*. *Inyon i mbatsav* are the night/witchcraft birds which the *mbatsav* (witches) actually assume their forms in their operations. There is also a very strong suggestion that disembodied spirits clothe themselves in the bodies of these night birds of which *avungu, gbev* (standard winged night jar) and *swande* are particularly noted. Indeed, Tiv elders who know how to use these birds claim to be capable of disappearing from imminent danger and finding themselves wherever they command the birds to take them to. This is possible because:

> The obvious magical operations of the elders who, because of their special position in the religious scheme, the vital and awesome rites … are responsible for and the use of sacred objects not exposed to the uninitiated, are connected in the popular imagination with the activities of the *mbatsav* in a way that involves them in the suggestion of sinister acts … common in Tiv land. (Downes 38)

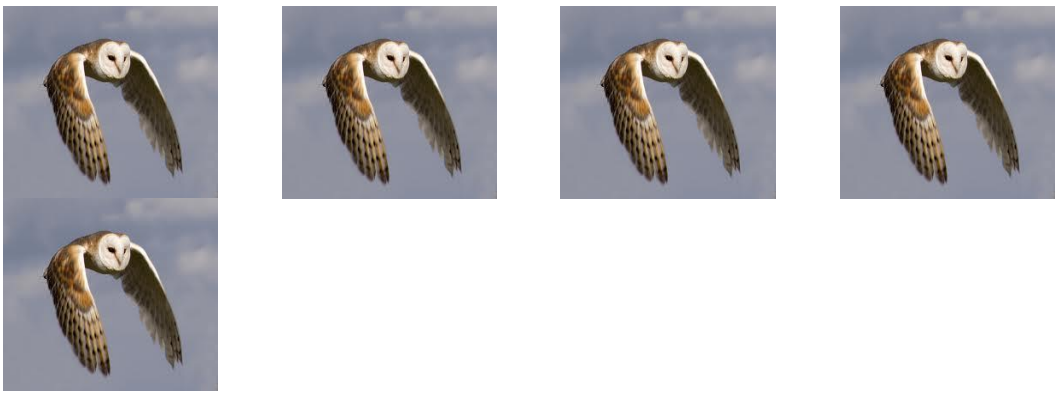
Further in Tiv society, the departed are believed to keep in touch with the living part of their families through their visits in forms of the *avungu* birds. *Avungu* for Downes, "are occupied by the important human departed spirits which hover near their living families" (55). Under the category of *avungu* (owls) which are common to the people and are harnessed for such divine purposes are the *Akiki* (pearl spotted owl), *Ivungu* (Abyssinian spotted owl), *Kpile* (barred owl), *Mtsaan* (African scoop owl). Among the Tiv also, it is believed that these birds, are mystically infused with witchcraft powers by the *mbatsav* to run their diabolic errands. This is what Waapela corroborates where she said, "these animals are grafted with spiritual powers and are intermediaries between God and ritual experts" (177). See picture below of some owl species**.**

***Amboravungu* (owl) Symbols**

The Tiv further believe that with the *imbyorivungu* (owl) emblem, they can cross the waters into the unseen. This is supported by the fact that the *imbyorivungu* is a compound word: *imbor* symbolising a spring of water and the *ivungu* (owl) itself. This gives credence to the claim that the *imbyorivungu* symbol is a channel by which the water barrier between the seen and the unseen world is crossed by the *mbastav*. It is also a well-known practice in Tiv religion that elders, more often than not, venerate their ancestors via *imbyorivungu* by pouring blood on it for their honour in order to "tap their spirituality in all that they do to make the world or human life worth living" (Gbenda 99). As such, those who engage in spiritual communion with the living dead often sacrifice their credible children for the reactivation of the *imbyorivungu* emblem in the process of communicating with the ancestors. It is further explained by Gbenda that, "the essence of Tiv ancestors is embedded in the voices of the birds of the owl family" (95) which are stimulated for the purposes of productivity as well as fertility in any sphere of the Tiv life.

In Tiv land, a man, woman or community that has *imbyorivung*u has a kind of insurance against failure, physically and spiritually. Also, the possession of an *imborivungu* by one can afford such a person the power to attack real and perceived enemies. Hence the emblem is awe-inspiring, feared and revered by the Tiv. The custodian of the owl symbol is usually an elder who is held in high esteem and is also vested with the secrets of *akombo* and *tsav*. Owing to its sacredness, anyone who sees it intentionally or unintentionally enters into *ikpindi* (flesh debt), which payment entails human blood. Also, the change of ownership of this sacred emblem, as a matter of necessity requires human sacrifices for the renewal of its powers. Though this aspect of life is being de-emphasised due to modernity, elements of it are deep rooted and difficult to uproot completely.

Furthermore, the *avungu* and *swande* birds are imbued with the power of sight as they posses "four" eyes which help to awaken the powers of Tiv sacred priests and ritualists**.** Till date, elders of Tiv society, and initiates of *akombo-biam* (highest ritual initiation) are often required to leave their bodies, using the birds- *Avungu* and *Swande* for the benefit of the *tar*. The Tiv elders as *mbatsav* (witches) and the *mbatarev* (people of the land) and/or initiates of *akombo-biam* assuming these birds' forms work together as a team when acting for the *tar* (country). The claim strengthens the position of Sai, Wegh and other scholars of Tiv religion that the trip to the *S*wem (Tiv ancestral home) is not undertaken with the physical body but that all elders come together from all parts of their *tar* (communities) and change into birds then are off to Swem, to set the land right. They fly east together as birds in their numbers and return at seasonal times. See picture below:



Picture showing the flight of Tiv elders as mbatsav (witches) *in inyon (bird) form either on a spiritual journey to Swem to attend their nocturnal meeting or simply in active service.*

This journey to Swem is usually carried out at the beginning of the dry season. Yet, others walk to these meetings on spiders' webs, through the forms of snake as well as the use of invisible bicycles, motorcycles, cars and aeroplanes. Affirming this position Bohannan and Bohannan say:

> Swem is … the name of a hill in Tiv land where the *mbatsav* are said to congregate twice a year (they fly there as owls or else have "night horses" or "night cycles" made of straw which they activate and use as transportation, some today are said to go by "night planes)".

The *Kulugh* (tortoise)

Kulugh (tortoise) in Tiv folktales and religion usually symbolises patience, caution and confidence. Given the religious characteristics of the *kurugh*, it has a lot of religious significance to the Tiv. Thus, the *Kurugh* or its shell (Igbende kurugh- pl.Agbende Kulugh) are used in place of cowries, palm nuts and other divination instruments in

making spiritual inquiry from the gods. The blood of the *Kurugh* is also used in the propitiation of *akombo a dam, atsewe* and the *agashi* rituals.

The *Ayô* (snakes) - *Gbaka, Kyarem, Kyume, Gungun*)

In Tiv religion, *Iyô* (snake) belongs to a sub-classification of animals the Tiv call *nyam kpelean nya* (creeping animals). *Iyô* as a reptile is an animal symbol often connected with the ancestors, water bodies and the underworld. Adherents of Tiv religion conceive the *Iyô* as a symbol of protection, power and that which has the secret of sex or sexual pleasure. Snake symbols among the Tiv range from *abuku, gbaka, gbinde, kyarem* and boa constrictors, like the *kyume* (python) and *gungun* (mystical snake). In Tiv world-view, *iyô* especially the *Gungun* snake and *Kyume* are symbolised in many forms in the snake cults. They may be represented on carved stools, moulded on a house or on shrine walls and on the traditional altars of the ethnic group. See picture of the *Gungun* mystical snake.

The Gungun symbol moulded on an Azôv shrine for protection pictured while on field research in Ushongo Local Government Area in 2011.

The *Gungun* mystical snake of the Tiv is like a sea monster. The Tiv believe that this snake is created by the *ityo* (council of elders) for mystical purposes. It is believed that the Tiv own and keep it in major water bodies around them such as lakes, rivers and seas such that any person(s) visiting their communities with evil intent(s) is/are constricted to death by the snake.

One could also find the *gbaka* and *kyume* symbols entwined in a circle in many *Azôv* shrines. The *kyume* is also a sacred symbol of the Tiv gods. It is the manifestation of a divine being such that its looming appearance in a community sends an awful message of impending danger (Waapela 247). The *kyarem* is also a strong serpent symbol in Tiv world-view. The Tiv believe that the green snake at some time in the past mystically turned itself into a bridge for them to cross over the River Congo, while fleeing from their enemies in the course of their migration into the Benue valley. To the Tiv, the appearance and the intervention of the *kyarem* at the most crucial point in their lives has ever been a clear manifestation of the presence of the Supreme Deity.

Animal Imageries as Gateway to the Divine in Tiv Religion

It is needless to re-state at this point that Tiv religion is exoteric, that is, it is open to all; but the tapping of the elemental forces of nature is esoteric in the sense that, it is limited to those who have the knowledge wherewithal. Indeed, in Tiv religion, many priests employ animal imageries as media of spiritual communication. This is so because animal imageries form part of the process of revelation even in pre-modern societies and continue to do so for many people all over the world. Research has vividly revealed this phenomenon in traditional divination that, a person becomes a clairvoyant medium by

metaphorically embodying the behaviour of the water shrew while in a trance**.** With this understanding, many Tiv priests, diviners and ritual experts insist on wearing an animal's skin or having it laid on the floor of their shrines as part of their regalia of office without which no divine revelation may take place. Some diviners and/or their clients may sit or stand on some of these animal skins. Owing to this, some Tiv traditional priests and medicine men frequently have their own very powerful animals, in whose mask or skins they exorcise evil spirits, punish enemies, locate game or fish, predict the weather and, most importantly cure diseases. Animal skins commonly used by the Tiv for such purposes include those of the *anyam* (leopard), *bua* (cow), *ivo* (goat), *shimbe* (civet) and *yongo* (sheep) among others. See pictures of some animals' skins the Tiv use as their regalia of divine office.

Ivo skin *Shimbe skin* *Yongô skin*

These animal skins, according to Danfulani, "serve the same purpose of transporting religious custodians into the spirit realm which he/she penetrates in order to bring forth secret knowledge" (202).

Furthermore, elders, hunters, ritualists and sorcerers in Tiv society, just like witches, have animal imageries that work for them. The Tiv harness animal imageries like

Agbende (shells), *Anyi* (teeth) (e.g. of igyô tohô guinea pig), *anyi a ishôhô* (cowries), *ambe* (crocodile), *shima* (heart), *korough* (horn) among others which are wrapped in leather or sewn in pairs and tied/worn round the waist or neck for protection from witchcraft and other dangers. The Tiv hunters for example wear some animal parts such as the horns of wild animals- *ihyo* (antelope belonging to the gazelle family), or of domesticated animals like *bua-u-Tiv* (Tiv native cow) as protective symbols from wild animals, to make them invisible and/or safe from attacks of animals during hunting. This goes with no surprise that, stories abound in Tiv land of animal relationship with Tiv hunters. Most of such stories recount how the *ihyô* (antelope) are often possessed by free spirits and how they bring ill-luck or good fortune to hunters depending on how they treat them.

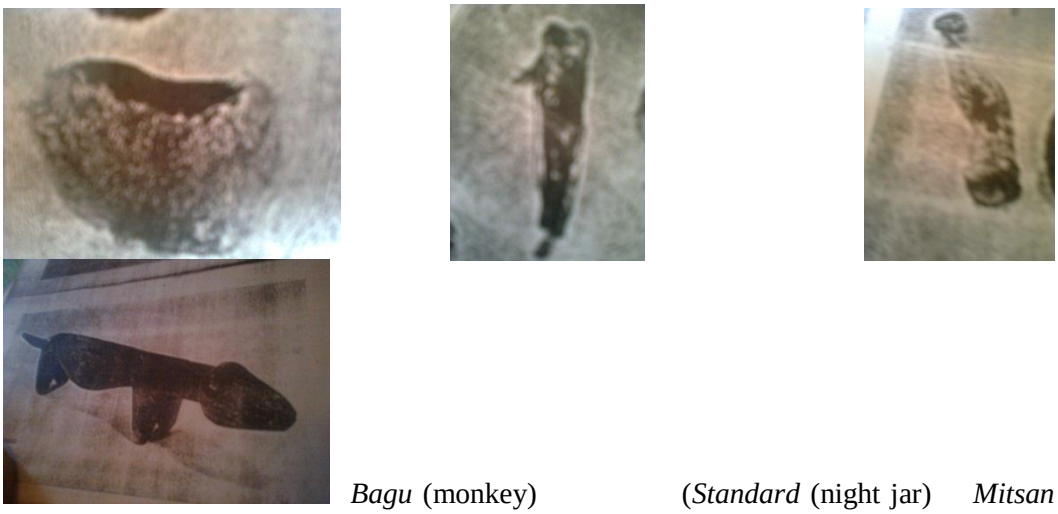
The Tiv, again use the *ihyô* for divination because it is not regarded as an ordinary animal. Also, tired Tiv travelers who possess *dufu u ihyô* (antelope body protector) cab transform themselves into antelopes and walk away undetected. On the other hand, a person having the *dufu u imondo* (ant-hill body protector) when be-set by danger can easily transform into ant-hill. Similarly, Tiv hunters, sorcerer/sorceress is known to use animal agents against their foes. In such cases, an *anyam* (leopard) or an *iyô* (snake) can attack the enemy in the bush and harm him even though he or she carries charms against such attacks. "The charms may be ineffective showing that some greater force is working against it" (Parrinder 118).

Tiv men and women also use scarification and tattoos associated with animals as symbols of their religious and spiritual confraternity. Good examples of such tattoos include the *imunan* (mosquito) type made on their fore-head, *ishu* (fish tattoos which include *gbargbar* (swallow), *kov, okpoto,* the *ndiar* (water monitor) all made on the stomach and *Yese* (scorpion made on the palms and forearms).

Tiv elders sometimes keep gourds of various sizes decorated with the feathers of some particular birds or the hair of the animal (s) which are used to connect *tsav* for reasons linked to the welfare of the group. They would then imitate the sounds made by the bird or animal by holding the gourd in front of their mouth. This could result in a rebound of echo-like notes which, are heard in the case of the *anyam, bagu, gbev, kpatuma* and *ivungu* noises among others. When blown into the voice hole of an animal object used in meeting the communication needs of the Tiv, it makes a thunder-like sound and the vibratory medium returns the sound up-wards with a change of timbre producing an echo-like sound which is said to be the voice of the ancestor.

In the course of carrying out this communication with the *imbyorvungu* emblem, the sender who is blowing the *imbyorvungu* kneels down with his heels in his fundament. If not, the vibratory capacity would blow his intestines. This animal emblem is noted as transmitter of message(s) between the living generation and their ancestors in the spirit world. Surprisingly, the echo-like notes "could … scarcely be distinguished from the sounds made by the birds themselves" (Downes 53). This supports the fact that these animal imageries as instruments are not perhaps, as mere decoration of the animals. Since these instruments are played in a ceremonial manner at times by two men playing in unison, and models of birds are always in position. See picture below of gourds representing animal imageries.

Akiki (pearl-spotted) *Kpile* (Barred owl) *Owl* (vungu) *Bon* (wildcat) *Alom* (hare)



Bagu (monkey) (*Standard* (night jar) *Mitsan* (African scoop owl), *Anyam* Model leopard of wood

Source: Extracts from R.M Downes. *Tiv Religion* ….1971

The Religious and Social Impact of the Tiv Use of Animal Symbols

The Tiv use of animal symbols, as it were has positive and negative effects on their lives. In the positive sense, the Tiv have successfully employed the use of animals and their symbols in enforcing and sustaining kinship ties, tapping therapeutic medicine and in sealing social relationships. For example, the *kyarem* (green snake) definitely is a sign of the Tiv liberation and cannot be dismissed as a small snake or that the surrounding it myth is untrue. The *ikyegh* (chicken) has so much significance in the Tiv therapeutic medicine. For example, the twirling of the *ikyegh* over one's head, with the ritual formula, *ibo-sen, isho kondo* cannot be over-emphasized which ritual is liken to the Jesus' act of casting out the evil spirits from a man cannot be over-emphasized. Similarly, in the Tiv religious belief and practice, the *ikyegh* takes the place of the individual who is sick and the individual becomes healed. Socially, the *igyo* (pig) is killed by the Tiv to seal up the marital process and other cultural ceremonies. The killing of the *bua* (cow) cuts into the religious realm and brings about appeasement of the *ityo* (council of elders) from such a son of theirs. On the contrary, if the *bua* is killed by such

a son, without taking into cognizance the religious protocol; it can now attract witchcraft. In a related development, one can incur *ikpindi* (a spiritual debt) by eating a *bua* or any revered part of it. Furthermore, the Tiv have harnessed many animal symbols such as the *bagu* (monkey), *kpatum*a (cat), *nyniya* (horse) and many birds of nocturnal habits in causing havoc to life and property in and around their communities.

Conclusion

From the fore-going, the value of animals in all facets of the Tiv life cannot be over-emphasised. This paper has tried to present the Tiv classification of animals as channels to the divine and animal imageries as gateway to the divine in Tiv religion. From the research, it has been discovered, many adherents of Tiv religion use animals to receive messages from the spirit world. The Tiv also use animal symbols to enhance their powers to the divine or to confuse and frustrate it through divination, magic, sorcery and witchcraft. It is hoped that this paper will inspire a further study in this area which will be explored in show-casing the relevance of animals for religious uses and benefits to humanity.

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POLICING INSECURITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN POST-COLONIAL NIGERIA

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Abstract
Security is ipso facto sine qua non to development and its sustainability without which the nation and its citizenry cannot realize their full potentialities. However, since 1960s when Nigeria got her political independence to date, there have been a plethora of security challenges that have confronted the country emanating from constant incidences of ethno-religious conflicts, politically motivated violence, kidnapping, armed robbery, terrorism and militant insurgencies among others. These vices have not only impaired National development, but has a matter of fact often threatened the very existence of the nation. One apparatus of the Nigerian state which has been charged with the responsibility of providing a congenial and a more secured environment for meaningful and sustainable development to exist is the Nigeria Police Force. In fact, a great number of scholars and commentators of police studies see the police as an integrative mechanism that is meant to prevent social dysfunctions and disequilibrium in the polity. Furthermore, as an agency of the state that is most proximate (both temporally and procedurally) to issues of crime and insecurity, it is important to critically chronicle and analyze the extent to which the organization have been able to carry out this onerous task. The paper goes further to discuss factors and challenges that confront the police in the performance of their functions. The paper argues **in situ**, that the failure of the Nigeria Police Force to attain the desired expectations of the citizenry is responsible for the emergence of informal and formal Para-security bodies across the country. Finally, the paper concludes by proffering steps in tackling the problem of insecurity for the country to experience a robust and virile transformation and development in an atmosphere of relative peace and tranquility.
Keywords: Insecurity, Sustainable Development, Nigerian Police Force, Policing and Violence.

Introduction

A major area of concern since Nigeria gained her independence in 1962 has been how to ensure the security of its citizenry, the unity and development of the country as a whole. These became a challenge for the political elite that took over the reins of governance from the colonialists due to the increasing acts of lawlessness, social disorder, inter-ethnic conflicts, inter-communal clashes, ethno-religious crisis, political violence, and of recent, insurgencies by militia groups that have even threatened the existence of the country. One apparatus, among others, that Nigeria inherited from her colonial past to contend with these challenges is the Nigerian Police Force (herein after refer to as NPF). Based on empirical studies, academic journal, articles and books, the paper contributes to the discourse on insecurity and sustainable development in post-colonial Nigeria by perusing the performance of the police. The paper establishes certain historical and contemporary issues that are responsible for the poor performance of the police in dealing with the problem of insecurity despite the fact that they are charged with the sole responsibility of maintaining internal security. See (Police Act and Regulations Cap P19, LFN 2004, 214).

The paper has four broad sections. The first section dwells on the clarification of principal concepts that are significant to the subject matter of this article. The second section discusses the theoretical framework on which this article is fore grounded. The third section deals with the philosophy that fundamentally impacts on the practice of the Nigeria Police Force since 1861 and its implication for security and sustainable development. The fourth section discusses factors and challenges that confront the police in the performance of their duties. The last section concludes with a remark that

insecurity must be re-conceptualized from a wider perspective of development and recommends the way forward in tackling the problem.

Conceptual Clarification

Three principal concepts in this article need clarification. These are: policing, insecurity and sustainable development. This is done to aid comprehension of the issues that are discussed later because these concepts are often susceptible to debates and polemics.

Policing

Broadly speaking, policing refers to an entire gamut of interventions, policies, programmes, measures and actions embarked upon by a variety of institutions and groups (both formal and informal) in society to regulate social relations and practices in order to secure the safety of members of society as well as their conformity to the norms and values of the society. Thus, no society can exist without policing system. In other words, policing is a necessity in any social order. (Alemika & Chukwuma, 2003). In a similar vein, Tamuno (1970), and Rotimi (2001) have shown that pre-colonial societies and with particularly reference to the geo-political area now referred to as Nigeria had their own forms of policing system. However in contemporary times, the appellation is popularly ascribed to such agencies like the police, army, prison and courts among others, that serves as a conduit through which the total control and compliance of the citizenry is obtained through surveillance. Similarly, Alemika and Chukwuma (2003:3) posit that policing in modern times refers to "the creation of systems of surveillance coupled with the threat of sanctions for discovered deviance – either immediately or in terms of the initiations of penal process or both".

These systems of surveillance are many in Nigeria, they include the National Security Agency (NSA), National Intelligence Agency (NIA), State Security Service (SSS), Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), Nigerian Customs Service (NCS), National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDC), Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC), Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), the Nigerian Police Force (NPF) and of course several others which space will not permit for mentioning that exists both at the state and some of the Local Government Areas.

Out of these 'systems of surveillance' who are all charged to enforce criminal law by preventing, controlling and combating criminality wherever and by whoever, this paper singled out the NPF for discussion because they are the most proximate to issues of crime and insecurity. According to Odekunle (2004:6) "policemen are the government officials most proximate to crime, temporarily and procedurally, and are the leading figures in crime prevention and control and in the law enforcement process". Tamuno (1970) have shown that *ab initio*, the Nigerian Police Force was initially saddled with all the responsibilities that are now transferred to the various agencies mentioned above. Thus, while quasi – police agencies such as the custom and immigration organizations and various economic regulatory agencies are now involved in public policing, the concept has been adopted in this paper to depict police work.

Insecurity

The second concept that needs clarification is insecurity. It should be noted that there is no nation or society that does not have problem of insecurity, but when it has passed a tolerance level to an intolerable level, in other words, from the normal to the pathological and becomes a "social problem" then one can say that there is a problem of insecurity (Durkheim, 1930 and Odekunle, 2004:3). According to Olaogun and Gbadamosi (2012) insecurity is a state of hopelessness, anxiety and fear. However, the concept cannot be successfully explained without recourse to a definition and an explanation of security. This is so because security has assumed a multidimensional phase and phrase and this

has far-reaching implications in determining what constitute insecurity. For instance, from the Human Development approach, the concept of security is no longer confined to protection of lives and property and the maintenance of law and order, but it also encompasses pre-conditions for people's improvement, protection of human rights, provision of basic needs of life such as access to clean water, basic but quality education, healthcare facilities, food, shelter and access to and proper use of the environment and stability of the ecosystem. The afore mentioned are ably encapsulated in Hahbub ul Hag (1994 cited in Adesina, 2012). He categorized human security into seven key dimensions namely: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. This conception is not only wide but covers the entire gamut of human life and existence. Hence, according to Alemika (2012: 14)

> Contemporary discourse on security has therefore broaden the traditional emphasis on threat to bodily injuries and loss of property from criminal victimization or violence to include concern with access to food and nutrition, shelter, education, healthcare, employment, communication and transportation… guarantee of human rights, democratic governance, sustainable development, social welfare and distributive justice.

Thus, security is defined as measures that ensure peaceful co-existence and development at large. Furthermore, it is seen as a phenomenon that guarantee absence of fear, threats, anxieties, tension, harm, want and the apprehensions of losing life, liberty, property, goals, values, etc. It is also seen as a state of harmony between or among the individuals and groups in a community or state.

The Human Development approach to issues of security is tied to their concept of peace. Peace is generally defined as absence of fear, threats, conflict, anxiety, suffering and violence among others. Even this approach asserts that security has gone beyond the activities of the military, police and other para-military agencies, there is a subtle agreement that when peace breaks down, a return to peace involve a number of steps which definitely include peace building, peace-maintenance and peace-preservation (Rothschild, 1995; Booth, 200; Adedayo, 2011 and Olaogun and Gbadamosi, 2012). This is where the police as a security apparatus of the Nigerian state become significant as a tool for peace-maintenance and peace-preservation. According to Olaogun and Gbadamosi (2012), the need to bring peace to troubled zones is not only based on the interest and welfare of conflicting parties – be they individuals, communities or states especially in modern times, but it is also based on the capacity of nation-states and their governments to in part, resolve such conflicts through the services of their military, police and other para-military agencies as the case may be, both to overcome security challenges that ensued from such conflicts and to maintain the security secured. Therefore, security can be grouped into two types. These are: micro-security and macro-security. According to Nwagboso (2012), micro-security deals with the internal security of a nation while macro-security deals with security issues that involve a nation with other nations such as the war between United States of America and Iraq. Thus, while on one hand the Nigeria Police Force is empowered to protect and maintain the internal security of the country, on the other the armed forces (consisting of the Army, Navy and Air force) are empowered to defend Nigeria from external aggression and maintain its territorial integrity and secure its borders from external violations on land, sea and air (see Section 215 (3) and (4) and Section 217 (a) and (b) of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

From the foregoing, insecurity is a phenomenon that is the outcome of interplay of certain forces in the society that prevent relative peace, harmony and tranquility to prevail and consequently induces widespread tension, fear and anxiety. It is also a condition in which life and property are in jeopardy of potential or actual violence and the citizenry can no longer carry out their daily activities in a state of relative calmness and social trust. Thus, insecurity in this paper connotes intolerable, abnormal,

pathological, and widespread and/or the constant incidence of such vices like arm robbery, kidnapping, terrorism and militant insurgencies, ethno-religious conflicts and politically motivated violence among others which disrupts personal liberty and socio-economic activities. In a study carried out by Otto (2008 cited in Otto and Ukpere, 2012) he found that between 1999-2008, petroleum production in Nigeria was negatively affected by the problem of insecurity that occurred mostly in the Niger-Delta area of the country as shown in Table I.

Table I: **1999-2008 Annual Average Crude Oil Production (Million Barrels per Day -MBD)**

Year	Average output
1999	705.4
2000	797.8
2001	835.69
2002	800.6
2003	836.32
2004	877.32
2005	601.47
2006	484.11
2007	362.33
2008	397.67

Source: Otto (2008 cited in Otto & Ukpere, 2012)

Otto and Ukpere (2012) also documented how insecurity has affected the unit cost of doing business in Nigeria and how this has consequently led to the relocation of firms such as Michelin and Dunlop from Nigeria to Ghana.

Sustainable Development

In recent years, specifically from the 1980s, sustainable development became a buzz word both in governance and intellectual discourse. As a concept, it was first used by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) in the World Conservation Strategy. Their primary focus was essentially to protect the physical environment such that the orientation of technological development and its application on the environment for the exploration of resources are in harmony in such a way that the activities of current generations in their attempts to meet their needs does not compromise the future of prospective generations. Having gained wide applicability in the social sciences and humanities, the concept is further stressed to connote and encapsulates the adoption of a pragmatic and rational approach in governance that is characterized by accountability, responsibility, and good governance that guarantees progressive material prosperity and better life chances for the citizenry. Thus, sustainable development is predicated on equitable access to socio-economic and political opportunities and the acknowledgement of citizens fundamental human rights in such a way that these does not jeopardize the development agenda of future governmental regimes for future generations. In other word, sustainable development is development of today (the present) that does not compromise the development of tomorrow (the next generation). (Okaba, 2004; Omadjohwoefe, 2007; Otto and Ukpere, 2012).

Whenever there are problems of insecurity, it is always followed by socio-economic and political disruptions that have dire consequences on other sectors of human existence and livelihood such as the religious, family, cultural, educational and the agricultural sectors. The role of the police as an integrative mechanism becomes imperative as one of the strategy needed to restore and maintain public order and safety. In fact, the creation of modern police force either in a capitalist or socialist country is essentially a response to the challenge of order and safety without which man will slip into the 'Hobbesian state

of nature ' with dire consequences of progress and development becoming unrealizable. Therefore, the existence of a relatively peaceful society is most fundamental for sustainable development to be achieved through the role of the NPF in whom rest the responsibility of maintaining law and order and to protect and preserve the wellbeing and rights of citizens including their properties among others. According to Usman (2012:12):

> It is only in a safe and secure environment that optimal: local commercial activities can take place; foreign investors can be attracted; goods and services can be provided; infrastructures can be built and maintained; public services can be delivered and social and political activities can take place. Without security: no effective planning can take place and there can be little or no development.

From the explanation of the three basic concepts that are critical to this paper, it is abundantly clear that without effective policing by the NPF, sustainable development cannot be achieved in an atmosphere of insecurity.

Theoretical Considerations

This article is predicated on Max Weber's theoretical conceptions of the state and its apparatus, but with specific reference to the police. It is important to assert that it is not the intention here to carry out a full exposé on all that Max Weber theorized about the state, rather attention is only focused on his view on the strategic place that the state occupy in society and the role of one of its apparatus, i.e. the police, in the regulation of social relations and practices; and in the maintenance of law and order.

The theoretical assumption is summarized as follows: that the state is both a necessary institution and the material condition on which modern societies are formed; without the state and its apparatus, i.e. bureaucracy, the judiciary and the coercive apparatus such as the police, army and prison, society will be thrown into a state of anomie. According to Weber if no social institution existed which knew the use of violence, then the concept of 'state' would be eliminated and a condition would emerged that could be designated anarchy: Though there are other ways through which the state pacify its citizenry such as through rewards and patronage, the instrument of violence plays a critical role in integrating society both in time of chaos and peace (Weber in Greth and Mills, 1948).

Within this framework, the police and policing is viewed as imperative in forestalling and mitigating the challenge of insecurity.

The NPF: Philosophy and Praxis of Policing Since 1861 and Its Implication for Security and Sustainable Development

The philosophy and praxis of the NPF was fore grounded in imperial-colonial capitalism which is characterized by undue and forceful extraction and exploitation of natural and human resources; expansion of the frontiers of British economic interest; domination, maintenance and the sustenance of British colonial hegemony over indigenous economies and socio-political structures. Thus, the origin and development of the NPF was essentially a colonial construct meant to solely protect colonial interest, jurisdiction and rule. Their character and role was equally highly militaristic in nature. This was so in order to suppress all forms of opposition and uprising against British colonial agenda (Ahire, 1985; Sule, 2002 and Alemika and Chukwuma 2003).

Consequently, police formation was established in quick succession first in the colony of Lagos and then throughout the protectorates. Thus, in 1861, a consular guard comprising of 30 men was established in the colony of Lagos. Due to administrative exigencies, the Consular Guard became known as the Hausa Guard in 1863. The Guard was further regularized in 1879 following the declaration of the Oil River Protectorates in 1891, a constabulary modeled after the Hausa constabulary was formed. In the Northern Protectorate, the Royal Niger Company through a charter granted to them in

1886 set up the Royal Niger Constabulary in 1888. When the charter was revoked by the British colonial government, the constabulary was splited into the Northern NPF and the Northern Nigeria Regiment. These constabularies in their various domains were used to: conquer and dominate the various ethnic nationalities under the false pretense of providing congenial atmosphere for trade and commerce which was indeed actually meant to protect British socio-economic interest (Tamuno, 1970;Ahire, 1985;Alemika, 2010).

The subsequent amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914 led to the declaration of the unification of all the police forces. However, this declaration was not realized until 1930. The delay was due to the sudden shift of attention by the colonial government to participate in prosecuting the First World Bank War, which led to the deployment of virtually all human and financial resources to this cause. Since then, the NPF has gone through series of structural changes that are either constitutional and/or political. For instance, the office of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) was changed to commissioner in 1937, but later reverted to the original title in 1951 following the introduction of Macpherson constitution. Likewise, the creation of states in post-colonial Nigeria from 12 states in 1967, 19 states in 1976, and all the additional states created in1986, 1991 and 1996 all impacted on the structure of the NPF. The Local Administrative Police Forces in Local Government Areas in Western Nigeria and the Native Authorities in Northern Nigeria which had co-existed with the NPF since 1930 to 1966 were disbanded and their qualified personnel absorbed by the NPF. The reason for their disbandment includes the fact that they constituted instruments of oppression and brutalization of opponents in the hands of traditional rulers, local government officials and politicians (Tamuno, 1970; Ahire, 1985; Rotimi, 2004 and Alemika, 2010). Due to the fact that the philosophy behind the setting up of police forces were largely to engage them in military activities, their recruitment laid emphasis more on good body physique, medical fitness, a chest expansion of thirty-four inches and agility (Tamuno, 1970).

As a result of the militaristic posture and emphasis in policing, the history of Nigeria is replete with the use of violence by the police in dealing with the indigenous people in virtually every sphere of their contact with the colonial government and officials, even when this has to do with such matters like generating the required labour to execute projects such as the construction of rail lines, roads, ports and harbours; collection of tax; the enforcement of colonial policies on agriculture, hygiene and even the education of children. Furthermore, the police played violent roles characterized by brutality of workers in matters that border on wage bargaining with their various establishments. In fact, Tamuno (1970:217-248), Alemika and Chukwuma (2000:29-34), Rotimi (2004:40-64) gave accounts of the use of colonial policemen to violently and brutally pillage Benin Kingdom in 1897, to forcefully annex Opobo nation and Niger Confluence between 1895 and 1900, suppress workers' strike in 1945; 1947 and 1949, women anti-tax riots in 1929;1930 and 1948, communal crisis in Kano 1953, Tiv land in 1929-1959 and to achieve political ends sometimes in brutal manner. Rotimi (2004:47) posits that

> "there were cases of policemen during the colonial period that served as agents provocateurs, baiting members of opposition parties into committing unlawful acts, at times where they had been peacefully and lawfully gathered… Quite early in the history of party political competition in Northern Nigeria, the colonial government used this method to check the activities of the NEPU".

The 'culture' of militarization of the colonial police force did not change after Nigeria got her political independence in 1960 but rather it continued. According to Sule (2009:225),

> …there is a historical continuity between the role of the police in colonial Nigeria and that which it came to assume after the independence. The attainment of political independence did not bring any fundamental changes in the role, training and attitude of the NPF… The training

> programme of the police force both in quantity and quality did not change. It only prepares a recruit to perform his work militarily. Thus, after independence and even with the emergence of an elite class, made up of indigenous people who had the reins of political power, the role and character of the police did not change as they were used to fulfill and accomplish their own class agenda and sometimes their personal interest. While in the colonial period, the police sided with the metropolitan bourgeoisie against indigenous people, in post colonial Nigeria, their allegiance was to the indigenous bourgeois class".

Thus, just like it was in the colonial era, the history of police in post colonial Nigeria is also replete with series of militaristic encounters with Nigerians in their agitation for a better quality of life. Examples are the Tiv, Western and Agbekoya riots of the 1960s, series of brutalities against Nigerian students especially between 1970s to late 1980s. Bakalori riot, 1980; the killing of Dr Nwogu Okere, 5th May 1991; Col Israel Rindam, 6th September, 1992; and several other extra-judicial killings such as the Apo Six in Abuja.

The antecedents of police have had very serious implication for the performance of the NPF in curbing the challenges of insecurity in Nigeria. As a result several studies have shown that public perception of the NPF is very poor. The average citizen regard the police as unfriendly, untrustworthy, rude, authoritarian, inconsiderate, corrupt, prone to use of unnecessary and frequently brutal force, sometimes collude with criminals, inept in handling the public on occasions of public procession, poor in handling fire arms- *a la* accidental discharge and poor in managing security information from the public. As a result, the public do not want to have anything to do with them (Tamuno, 1970; Clinard and Abbot, 1973; Davies, 1998 and Odekunle, 1979). According to Odinkalu (2004:19) "while policing needs continue to grow, the institution of the police is held in low regard and does not earn or receive habitual cooperation from the people… It is therefore not surprising that when the police as an institution make the … assertion that the 'police are your friend'; the average… Nigerian would probably wonder 'when did that happen'?

Furthermore, corruption has become a major bane to the effective performance of the NPF in their daily routine. According to Enyeozili (2005:42) "Allegation of police corruption erupts on daily basis". A position paper by Independent Corrupt practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC,2013) also went further to straight-jacketedly categorize police corruption into two types, i.e. internal corruption and external corruption. Internal corruption is found within the organization and it is exhibited inform of bribing superior officers for promotion, posting/transfer, of officers and men to spot or areas that are considered to be monetarily rewarding and so on. External corruption is mostly carried out by the police in their official relations with the public. This comes in various forms: extortion from motorist and cyclists at illegally mounted road blocks; collection of monetary gratification in order to alter justice in favour of the highest bidder, protection of criminals from the long arm of the law, giving false testimony to ensure the dismissal of cases, among others. It is actually the second type of corruption that has grossly affected the performance level of the police as the public view them with mistrust and disdain and therefore refuse on most occasion to cooperate with them in their policing activities.

The poor perception that the public has about the police has rendered them quite inefficient in their daily task of maintaining internal security. According to Cohn (1978), unless there is team work and cooperation between the public and the police, the most efficiently administered police agency will falter. This lack of cooperation and teamwork between the police and the public has made the basic functions of the police cumbersome. A vivid description of insecurity in Nigeria shows that vices like kidnapping, ritual killings, armed robbery, politically motivated violence, sporadic ethno-religious conflicts, terrorism and militant insurgences are on the increase and the NPF whose task it is to prevent and detect crime; apprehend offenders, preserve law and

order; protect life and property, are not only helpless but often confused as to how to handle these challenges, hence the frequent deployment of the Nigerian Army and even in some circumstances intelligence officers from other countries like United State of America to assist. One major reason is because the NPF personnel both in quantity and quality are not properly trained to handle such matters as mentioned above. While the police finds it 'non challenging' to handle 'bare hand' protesters and those with feeble weapons, they are often diminished by the superior fire power that are in possession of criminals and terrorist/militia groups. Furthermore, while the policemen and women are trained to deal with conventional criminal activities such as burglary, murder, traffic offences and rape, it is clear that they can not cope with the level of sophistication and mastery with which kidnapping, terrorism, and militant insurgencies are now being carried out.

Due to the fact that insecurity is on the increase and the "NPF falls short of optimum performance"; Odekunle (2004:7), most Nigerians have had to make extra-police/para-security arrangements to ensure their security. According to Alemika (2010) and Odinkalu (2004), the police have not being able to respond to the challenges of policing and yearning of the majority of the Nigerian Public, hence parallel arrangements are being made on a daily basis to meet the ever growing security needs of the people. These can be witnessed by the boom in vigilante arrangements and the private security industry. Infact, a paradigm shift from traditional approach in policing to a community participatory policing, i.e. community policing – which has come to characterize policing discourse in Nigeria, coupled with the public debate for the return of state police attest to this (Rotimi, 2004:46-64).

Examination of Factors and Challenges Confronting the Performance of the NPF

The major crux of this article is to discuss factors and challenges that confront the NPF in stemming the tide of crime and insecurity and how these have currently impact very negatively on the socio-political and economic structures and Nigeria's nascent democracy despite the fact that between 2006-2008, the Federal Government of Nigeria both under the presidencies of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo and Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua set up committees for the reform of the NPF to enable them perform optimally (Sule, 2009).

There are quite a number of factors that are responsible for the non-optimal performance of the NPF. A critical perusal of empirical studies and literature indicates the following:

- Its colonial origin, heritage and philosophy which are characterized with brutality, incivility, extra-judicial killings and impunity coupled with authoritarian tendencies that emanate from abuse or misuse of the authority to search arrest or detain suspected offenders. A lot of times the outright display of force by the police will already have turned a suspect to a criminal. This has actually made the public to distance themselves from the police, hence making policing a cumbersome task, due to lack of trust and cooperation from the public.
- The use of outmoded training and techniques in intelligence gathering, investigation and arrest which are consequences of insufficient training period, lopsided emphasis in training which is mostly placed on drill and para-military work coupled with teaching/learning of law and police work by rote.
- Poor working environment and poor condition of service. It is without gainsaying that the NPF in its task of policing in the 21st century still make use of obsolete and inadequate equipments and transport infrastructures which exposes its personnel to visible danger as contemporary military hardware and software are now being used by criminals, terrorist and militia groups, thus making it impossible to combat such activities with obsolete weapons. Likewise, poor working condition of service which is characterized by poor salary

package/delay in salary payment and poor promotion culture is responsible for lack of morale, police corruption – extortion, bribery, etc – and other forms of deviant activities of the police in their daily task.

- Improper, inefficient and corrupt methods of recruitments couched in such concepts like *federal character, quota system and catchment area* coupled with the selection of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) based on political exigencies rather than competence professionalism and experience.
- The low quality of members of the corps in terms of educational qualification and the over centralizations of policing activities vested on the NPF. Section 214(I) of the Nigerian Constitution of 1999, provides that "There shall be a police force for Nigeria which shall be known as the NPF and subject to the provisions of this section, *no other force shall be established for the Federation or any part thereof"* (CFRN, 1999). Yet the force is supposed to cover a population of about 160 million Nigerians, spread over more than 926,000 Square Kilometers of land. This is equally against the backdrop of the fact that at least one policeman/woman is expected to oversee the security of four hundred (1:400) citizens by the United Nations Organization (UNO) standard. While the population of the country is growing at such a high speed, the recruitment and training of policemen/women is grossly lagging behind.
- The long years of neglect by the military regimes basically due to their lack of understanding of the place of the police in national development has also contributed in no small measure to the non-optimal performance of the NPF. In fact, there is a jealous, envious and superiority mentality exhibited by the military against the police. A case in point that demonstrated the above complexity was in 1983 just after the Shagari NPN-led government was toppled, all the 'state of the art' armored tanks and other equipments that were acquired for the police were summarily ceased and taken over by the military. As a result of the above constraint the NPF suffer from what Alemika (2010) refers to as 'crisis of performance'.
- Beyond the constraints mentioned above is also the bad socio-economic planning of government both at the Federal and state levels that have serious implications for the activities of the NPF either directly or indirectly. The idea of sustainable development has brought in additional factors for consideration when issues of security/insecurity are being examined. Socio-economic and political policies of governmental regimes in Nigeria since 1960 have had a lot of impact on the security situation in Nigeria.

According to Olaogun and Gbadamosi (2012:45)

> "the insecurity in Nigeria is as a result of the lack of good governance, bad socio-economic policies/bad implementation of good socio-economic policies and corruption of government officials which has led to unemployment, poverty, civil unrest among others.

The continued neglect of the rural areas have also led to the immigration of youths to the urban areas who subsequently turn to criminal acts such as arm robbery, burglary, prostitution, drug abuse and pick pocketing as survival strategies. The continued degradation of the environment by multi national cooperation without government taking steps to stop their abuse and mismanagement of the ecosystem are equally responsible for the kind of insurgencies that led to the emergence of such militia bodies such as Movement for the Niger-Delta (MEND), the Niger-Delta People Volunteer Force (NDPVF), the Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP) and *Boko Haram* with attendant consequences of kidnapping, killings, arson, which has become somewhat of an industry in Nigeria. These insecurity issues that are derivative of bad governance have also overwhelmed the NPF.

Concluding Remarks

The paper has shown that the challenges of insecurity has become an uphill task for the NPF and cannot be singlehandedly handled by them despite the fact that they are the most proximate to crime and internal insecurity matters. Thus, the need for government to rethink and re-conceptualize security in the context of development has become necessary in view of the fact that insecurity is fundamentally an effect of the agglomeration of factors such as bad governance, corruption, ethnicity, religious bigotry, environmental degradation and unemployment. Hence the root cause of insecurity should be frontally addressed. Government should deliberately deepen the democratic process in every sphere of governance such as in the electoral process, equity, justice and transparency in governance and also preserve the dignity and the rights of all law abiding citizens.

The idea that internal security is solely the responsibility of NPF as enshrined in the constitution needs review. The Federal Government needs to synergize with the States and Local Government Areas on the most appropriate security arrangements that could stem the tide of insecurity. Deriving from this, the need to vigorously pursue the idea of community policing has become a necessity. Furthermore, rather than jettison the idea of state police completely, the issue should be deliberated upon and refined to meet the democratic aspirations of the people. Government should also check the proliferations of arms and ammunitions in the country. The sources of these weapons should be investigated and necessary action taken to deal with them.

Focal attention on the police should include the immediate revitalization and revamping of the organization from its operational and logistic quagmire. The use of obsolete weapons and inadequate equipments to confront kidnappers, and militia groups who are using 'state of the art' military hardware and software is no longer acceptable. The philosophy of policing which the NPF imbibed since the colonial era need to change to agree with the philosophical paradigms that is located in democratic principles, rules of law and respect for human rights. Likewise, training curricula should include subjects on Nigeria Social Formations and Civil Education, while at the same time being exposed to workshops, seminars and conferences that are organized by civil rights organization and professional bodies such as the Nigerian Bar Association (NBA), and Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association (NASA), and the Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN). The police should equally involve these professional bodies in their own conferences. The exchange of ideas between the police and specialized organization in the country should be encouraged as this will positively impact on the practice, attitude and behavior of the police as they carry out their duties. Furthermore, the salary and conditions of service which also include promotion matter should be improved and brought in tandem with best practices as obtained in developed countries of the world.

Security is a sensitive matter that has far-reaching implication for progress, growth and sustainable development of the nation. Thus, the appointment of Inspector General of Police (IGP) and other appointments into sensitive positions in the police should be based on professional competence and unalloyed allegiance to the unity and peace of the country or else how does one explain the escape of 'high profile' suspected terrorist from the 'net' of the police and other security organization in time past.

The police should equally take ownership of the fight against corruption within its organization by restructuring the once existed anti-corruption "X squad". This can be further strengthened by developing a code of ethics for police officers that will ensure that they are committed to ethical practices in the discharge of their duties.

Finally, one sure way to gain the confidence of the public beyond the public relations assertion that the 'police is your friend' is to enlarge their contact with the public in other areas and platforms other than the enforcement of laws such as involving themselves in social service delivery, disaster intervention and management, free security and intelligence advise to the public and a revival of police sporting activities which they can

even engage non-paramilitary organizations in. This will go a long way to facilitate a better police-public relation and image.

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THE ROLE OF HEAD OF TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF STUDENT'S CRISES IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
An institution of learning needs peace and stability to pursue its primary objectives of teaching and the quest for knowledge. But what is sad about student crises is the agony of violence and destruction of lives and public property that accompanies it. This agony has made the researcher to go into deep review of some authors and writers and even go into some institutions to find out some of the previous causes of student crises. The institutions sampled include: University of Ibadan, ABU Zaria, Ambrose Alli University Ekpoma and College of Education Jalingo. The researcher in her view and findings identified the following as some of the causes; Lack of proper administration, communication gaps, poor academic programme, poor economic condition in the institution, poor students' welfare, socio-cultural problems, etc. The findings also revealed that, the role of heads of institutions in the management of student's crises is inevitable. The head is to act promptly in the event of outbreak of crises, analyse the problem and resolve them through dialogue and obtain information that lead to crises management, develop strategies to prevent crises, identify and manage crises as soon as it occurs, instead of running away and leaving it to result into violence. This paper discussed the causes of students' crises in tertiary institutions and the role of head of institutions in the management of students' crises in Nigeria.

Introduction

Crisis is a turning point in a person's life, a stressful life experience affecting the stability of an individual so that their ability to cope or even function may be seriously compromise or impaired. It is a temporary state of upset accompanied by confusion and disorganizing, a time of severe difficulty or danger, a situation of sudden rampage in an organization or institution necessitates making vital decision in the shortest time. Students' crisis in tertiary institutions is worldwide. It started in the super world countries and spread to the third world countries including Nigeria. In most instances, general reasons are advanced for the unrest in the affected institutions of higher learning all over the world. Ezoemah (1977) contended that cases of students' crisis in tertiary institutions stem from international polices, social, economic, unexpected events on campus and religious upheavals. In a similar view, Ujo (1991) stresses that the economic, social and political order in which we live was built up largely by violence, aggression competitiveness and sometimes conservativeness.

Madugu (1993) points out that several cases of students' crises were reported in institution of higher learning in Africa. He contends that these cases of students' crises were similar to those recorded elsewhere. However, some other literature suggests that students' crises in institution of higher learning in Africa cannot be the same as those of the developed countries. For example, Hanna (1975) believes that African students' are mainly concerned with issues such that most of the revolt in the 1960's to 1980's were for the improvement of the conditions of student's welfare and the down trodden members of the society. One exponent of frustration-aggression theory states that; violence and rioting are the outgrowth of social conditions (Berkowitz 1968). Blair, Jones and Simpson (1968) declared that school programs that are inhibiting, frustrating, thwarting and boring may easily trigger off the manifestation of instability within an organization.

In view of the above, the management of institutions and schools should avoid programmes that can trigger crises in institutions of learning.

Conceptual framework

Crisis

The term crisis come from the Greek noun krisis (choice, decision, judgment) deriving from the Greek verbKrinein (to decide).

Schmid (2002) defined crisis as sudden eruption of unexpected events caused by previous conflict.Best (2006) sees crisis as a degenerated stage of conflict, where threats to human security intense violence characterized by fight, death, injury etc occur.

Students' Crises

Students Crises is the rampage made by students in pressing for their demand on certain issues with authorities of the various tertiary institution of learning.

Management

Management is the process whereby human, materials and financial resources are mobilized andorganized, personnel motivated and inspired acoordinative working environment erased to accomplish organizational goals. Ogundele and Okonji (2004) defined management as the functional process of accomplishing the goal of the organization through the help of others. Cole, (2002) sees management as the collection of activities including planning, organizing, motivating and controlling. Draft, (2003) defined management as the attainment of organizational goal in an effective and efficient manner through planning, organizing leading and controlling.Management of student crises refers to the act of handling and controlling students' disorderliness in an educational institution by the management

Causes of Student Crisis

The various factors found to be responsible for student's crises in tertiary institutions could be classified into the following groups. These are Administrative problems, communication gaps, poor Academic programmed, poor economic condition in the institutions, poor students' welfare, political and religious problems etc.

Administrative Problem

One of the explosive causes of students' crises is the administrative problems. Adeniyi, (1998) states in his opinion that the administrative factor that could lead to students crises in tertiary institutions is arbitrary increase in tuition fees without prior information. He (Adeniyi) also identified mismanagement of funds, mal-administration, bribery and corruption and tribalism on the part of the managers of tertiary institution, as factors responsible for student's crisis in most cases. Musaazi, (1984) on the other hand states that autocratic leadership style in administration kills initiative among students and very often lead to students riots and strikes.

Udoh, (2003) frowns at a situation whereby an education leader may decide to avoid the other officers or pretend that crises does not exist even when a person is hurt and angry as a result of the others action. This approach leaves the person affected feeling more hurt, frustrated, annoyed, angry and resentful and this does not actually solve the problem but buries it, awaiting on appropriate time during which it bursts into unrest and consequence on uncontrollable conflict.

Communication Gaps

Communication gaps are also a factor for students' crises. A good communication can pave way to conducive atmosphere on university campuses but poor communication can find fault with institution administrators. Denga, (1993) contends that an administrator who keeps channels of communication closed and does not see any need to involve students at any level indecision making is courting students crises. Nwabueze, (1986) contends that insufficient knowledge about what a school is doing and the student's

expectation of what the school ought to be doing can spark crises.Adeniyi,(1998) believes that when student union bodies are not fully involved in the decision making process, they can cause riot. Ojo, (1995) observes that lack of consultation with students on their welfare and life in the school campus can trigger crises in tertiary institution. When people are starved of information, they became speculative and readily fall prey to indoctrination and manipulation, either by people outside the school or by some disgruntled or troubled unhappy students.

Academic Problems

Other pressing matter that causes student crises in the minds of students are academic problems. Ojo, (1995) identifies inadequate teaching staff, lack of teaching aids, over crowded lecture room, poorly equipped laboratories and libraries as being responsible for students' crises in tertiary institutions. Nnadi, (1993) contend that inadequate provision of infrastructural facilities and low staff morale can equally breeds students crisis. Denga, (1993) noted that setting on impossible academic standard can spark off violence among students. He adds that failing students can cause crises because they are failing away.

Poor Economic Condition

Another factor contributing to students crises in tertiary institution is the poor economic conditions of the institution. Ige, (2002) states that inadequate allocation of funds which the institution'sauthority are finding difficult has resulted in the lack of or inadequacy of the things that make a university. Madugu, (1993) believes that, only adequate funding can stop the constant strikes by staff and students in institutes of higher learning in the country. In some cases, the actual allocation made is not released to the institutions. Madugu, (1993) illustrated that the amount allocated for capital project is normally not released to the institutions. Again both the recurrent and capital expenditures are usually in short falls of the approved allocation and actual disbursement. The resultant effects are that the institution end up with short falls in their duly allocation revenues. When the funds to effectively run the institution are lacking and or are inadequate, such a situation is very likely to bred students crises.

Poor Welfare

Poor students welfare was also identified by many researchers as one of the causes of students crises in tertiary institution.Shodimu, (1992) listed welfare services to include food, shelter, water and electricity which are municipal services, and others includeequipment's, books and library service. Shodimu belief that a student population living in hundred in any hostel accommodation can not but feel threatened, if water and activity are not supplied. On the same noteDenga, (1993) noted that most student in our universities operate below the poverty line as many go without two regular meals a day. He further states that families are over stretched in their effort to support their children financially so finds it difficult to supply welfare package for them. To crown it all there is no scholarship awards for many of the students and even thoseenjoying the awards are not being promptly paid.

Therefore when students are hard up financially they often think of a way of solving the problem by stirring a situation that can lead to students' crises and eventually closure of the institution.

Social Cultural Problems

Socio-cultural factors are also seen as a cause to students crises.. Since schools do not exist in isolation of the society, Ujo, (1991) looks at the students' crises as being conditioned and structured by socio-cultural environment in which the school is situated. Asafa, (1991) identified anti-social factors as another causes of students crises in tertiary

institutions. To him ethnicity and cultism are responsible for students crisis in tertiary institutions. Ige, (2002) in support, states that so many parents had been members of various cults and had initiated theirchildren at tender age such children usually re-group when they meet in the institutions and they recruit innocent students into their fold.

Political Problems

On the political scene, Denga, (1993) identifies abuse of political opportunities as being responsible for students crises in tertiary institution. These politicians, it is believed use student for their selfish ends. They (politicians) manipulate students from a distant control using money as a weapon to discredit the heads of institution, and possibly cause their demotion, transfer or even removal in favour of their political/sympathizers.

Religious Problems

Religious beliefs could also be instrumental to students crises in tertiary institutions. Ige, (2002) note that, there had always been religious clashes in various institution. Such clashes had occurred sparked off by issues like demarcation of places of worship, the mode of worship using loud speakers for "call" to holding fellowship meetings at hours/places their colleagues, classmates and even friend might call "wrong hours and places" and holding programme which others regard as provocative.

However, it can be said that the causative factors of students crises as identified by the study appeared to agree with the frustration-aggression theory which suggest that riots and other forms of violent collective behavior stems from frustration, for example one exponent of the frustration- aggression theory states that violence and rioting are the out growth of social condition Berkowitz, (1968) these causes as discussed above can result to prolong academic activities, destructions of life and property and most cases render school environment completely insecure for any serious academic activities.

Sample cases of student crisis in Nigeria

Date	Institution	Causes of Crises	Result of the Crises
1957	University of Ibadan	Ban use of electrical appliances in Rooms	Destruction of Lives and property
1981	ABU Zaria	Religion and Against vice Chancellor over alleged rice meal	Student died and vice Chancellor dismissed
1984	Many Nigerian Tertiary Institution	Proposed introduction of tuition fees.	Many university were close down for months
1988	Many University in Nigeria	Removal of subsidy from petroleum and allied products	Many schools were closed for a peiod of six months
1998	Ambrose Ali UniversityEkpoma Nigeria	Cult Activities	Violence leading to the death of many students.`
1987	College of Education Jalingo	Irrational supply of electricity	Destruction of College properties.
2003	College of Education Jalingo	Shortage of water in the college	Violence leading to the death of a student, destruction of properties college closed down for a period of five months.

Source: Shamaki, 2004.

The Role of Head of Tertiary Institution in the Management of Student Crises

The causes of the crises as discussed, calls for the role of heads of tertiary institutions in the management of such crises.

Crises can be functional to individual, organization or society. It act as a stimulus to the analysis of problem and a motive force behind programmes of change and reform.

Crises may thus make a person or organization to re-examine themselves, the goal and the means of attaining that goal.

Udoh (2003) states that in china crises or conflict is seen as an opportunity for change.

Maccoby e'tal (2011) identified five steps to manage crises by the school administration or heads as follows:

i. Anticipate, take time to obtain information that can lead to crises
ii. Prevent, develop strategies before the conflict or crises occurs.
iii. Identify- if it is interpersonal or procedural, move to quickly manage it.
iv. Manage; remember that conflict or crises is emotional.
v. Resolve, react without blame, and you willlearn through dialogue.

The school administration should know that crises situation creates an opportunity for change and development, if it is managed constructively instead of running away and leave it to result into violence.

An administration should not avoid problems but tries to solve them, because when crises occurs it lead to disruption of academic programmes and poor performance.

Taiwo,(2004) argued that the closure of institution as a method of arresting violent situation entails a disruption of academic programme, the result of which are inadequate work, poor performance and outright failure in the same vein.The head of an institution should also avoid the use of police in curbing crises in an institution. Anifowoshe (2004) observe that the use of police by the authority have led to the escalation of violence on campuses. They should be democratic in handling crises and create avenues for discussing non-violent strategy for managing crises in tertiary institutions.

Recommendations

From the finding of the study, the following recommendations were made:

1. There should be increase in financial allocation to higher institution so as to enable them provide for the necessary instructional and infrastructural facilities in the campuses.
2. Scholarship board at various levels of the federation should review the issue of bursary and scholarship awards in order to alleviate the suffering and hardship of the children of the poor.
3. Appointment of head of institutions should be based on merit, competence and experience, and only qualified and competent lecturers should be employed to lecture in tertiary institutions.
4. There should be equity in the distribution of social amenities in all tertiary institutions to avoid the feelings of neglect and preference amongst the student of the institutions.
5. Eradication of cultism in higher institution should be intensified. Those found to be members should be made to face the consequence
6. Student union leadership should only be made open to students with qualities of good leadership including minimum academic achievement to be determined by the institution concerned, maturity in age, past record of good behaviours and the undertaking to abide by accepted code of conduct.
7. Dialogue should be establish during students suspected crises to listen to students genuine complains.

8. Institution environment should be made conducive for learning by ensuring that environment does not exceed the capacity of schools in terms of available resources, facilities and infrastructures.
9. Various institution of higher learning should avoid arbitrary increase in the tuition and other chargeable fees. If need be, the students should be educated on the reason for the increase and again, they should be informed in good times.
10. Lecturers should be honest and punctual during lectures
11. Parents should finance each stage of the education of their children so as to supplement government efforts.
12. Religious sermons, students politics, meetings and lectures on campuses should be strictly on permission and under security vigilance.

The above recommendation if implemented would minimized and eliminate students crises in Nigerian tertiary institutions in general and Taraba state in particular.

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A CRITIC OF INNATISM IN JOHN LOCKE'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE: A METAPHYSICAL ORIENTATION

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Abstract
This paper is an attempt to evaluate John Locke's critique of the a priori systems of innate ideas in the light of his empirical theory of knowledge. Locke's arguments are supposed to check the excesses of innatism. In doing this, he ended up throwing away the bath-water with the baby. We can still retain the baby by throwing away the bath-water alone. This is possible if we follow the concept of knowledge proposed by Aristotle and completed by St. Thomas Aquinas in which there ought to be a search for an interpretation of the observed cognitional facts on a middle course, where there will be affirmed a connection between intellectual knowledge and sensible sources - emphasizing, at the same time, the different structural character of the acts of intellectual cognition, which points to direct structure of the subject of knowing acts, i.e. the intellect. In such a case, the solutions proposed either by extreme rationalism or by extreme empiricism cannot be accepted.

Introduction

The primary and distinctive moment in which man fulfills himself precisely as man is his cognition. This affirmation, however, is very general and has little precision, because immediately there arises the questions, "what is cognition/knowledge?" How do we arrive at a satisfactory definition of knowledge. How do we determine what sorts of propositions can be known to be true and how do we explain how these propositions can be know to be true?[1]

There is an extensive literature on this question, which is connected with different philosophical trends which propose, in different ways, the solution of the problem of the possibility of man's intellectual knowledge. These propositions can be divided, in a most general way, into two groups:

(a). A system of innate ideas or a priori categories making valid knowledge possible;
(b). A system of empiricism and, connected with it, a concept of concrete abstraction.

Each of these possible solutions has a series of separate formulations and attempts toward its resolution.

This paper is an attempt to evaluate John Locke's critique of the A priori systems of innate ideas in the light of his empirical theory of knowledge.

Statement of the Problem

The problem is brought about by what Locke himself describes as an "established opinion among some men" in the 17th century Britain. The established opinion, Locke tells us, is:

> that there are in the understanding certain innate principles, some primary characters, as it were, stamped upon the mind of man, which the soul receives in its very first being and brings into the world with it.[2]

We discovered that this problem persists, even today, not only in Britain but in many other parts of the world as well. We also discovered that the nature and form of one and the same old problem change as we move from one place to another, from one culture to another.

Locke challenges his contemporaries (who held such beliefs) to justify their claims. He insisted that they clarify whether or not they meant that no experience or reason is necessary for the recognition of the truth of principles they believed were universally

accepted. He (Locke) produced sociological and anthropological evident to reject the universal acceptance.[3]

If the holders of this doctrine (of innateness) claimed that the principles said to be innate were accepted only after reason or experience had intervened, then, Locke pointed out, a great number - infact, an indefinite number - of principles and maxims could claim to be innate; all the truths of mathematics, for example.

Locke offered a stronger objection still to innatism, an objection which reveals an important psychological principle of his own. He says:

> To say a notion is imprinted on the mind, and yet at the same time to say the mind is ignorant of it and never yet took notice of it, is to make this impression nothing.[4]

This principle that what is in my mind be conscious to me, underlies Locke's accounts of awareness and of the nature of ideas. This submission or point of view won Locke a handful of critics. We shall meet some of these as we go on. It is however important to note that this principle is announced and used in the first book of the essay, an area we are most concerned with.

On the whole, we must be conscious of the fact that the particular version of innateness to which Locke objects, as observed by John W. Yolton is of less importance for understanding his own doctrines than are the specific uses to which appeals to innateness were made.[5]

There are two specific uses:

1). To provide a basis for morality, in truths common to all mankind.

2). To provide certain primitive notions, basic truths (those called "speculative principles") which were said to be necessary in accounting for the possibility or actuality of knowledge.

To this second use, Locke insisted that knowledge is derived from experience, rather than from principle.

Having said this by way of introduction, our work divides itself into four sections; (a) John Locke from a historical perspective, (b) Analysis of A priori systems of innate ideas, (c) Locke's critique of innatism as a system of knowledge, (d) Finally, a critical evaluation of Locke's critique of innatism.

Locke from a Historical Perspective

Locke was born on 29th of August 1632. He entered Christ Church, Oxford in 1652, where he received his M.A. in 1658. At Christ Church he was elected student in 1658, lecturer in Greek in 1660, lecturer in Rhetoric in 1662, and censor of moral philosophy, 1664. Physician and Secretary to Anthony Ashley Cooper (later Earl of Shaftesbury), 1667-81. Secretary to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 1673. Deprived of his appointment to Christ Church by royal decree, 1684. Voluntary exile in Holland, 1683-89. Died on 28th October, 1704.

John Locke is certainly not a new name to a student of philosophy of our day. His principal work is "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding". J. A. St. John has remarked that this book:

> Has excited the strongest opposition, it has been assailed by calumny, it has often been misunderstood, and sometimes neglected. Nevertheless, such is its character, such are the principles it contains, such the clearness, fullness, and satisfactory nature of its interpretations of intellectual phenomena, that it can never be wholly laid aside so long as the study of philosophy shall retain any charm for mankind.[6]

A sign of the growing interest in Locke is the number of articles on him in the journals of various philosophical schools. These articles show the various ways of approaching him. On almost every topic, there is disagreement over

what Locke meant. It has been discovered also that there are some who use him for target-practice. However, in all, there is a widespread conviction that the essay is worthy of study in its own right.

A Priori System of Innate Ideas

The problem of a valuable and rational knowledge appeared almost simultaneously with the origin of Greek philosophy. Should one trust sense knowledge or should one rise above (beyond?) it and reach another world, a pure thought which is not blemished with mutable, unstable, and constantly changing sense perceptions? This conflict became especially acute in the case of Parmenides, who became aware of the fact (he presented his reflections on this problem in the form of a religious revelation), that there is a fundamental opposition between the intellectual and sensible trend of knowledge. There are, as it were, two roads on which man must go. And once gone, he cannot leave them, since they are roads that lead in different directions: to truth: the way of intellectual knowledge; to error: the way of sensible knowledge. The way of intellectual knowledge leads to truth because it is the way of being. Being manifests itself to the human intellect as an immediately given object of knowledge; and to such a degree that to think and to be are one and the same: NOEIN TE KAI NOEMA TAUTON.? This connection between being and intellect has appeared in the history of philosophy in various a priori ways of knowing. We can mention here names and, linked with them, theories of intellectual (particular conceptual) knowledge: Plato, St. Augustine, Descartes, Leibniz, Malebranche, Gioberti.

According to these thinkers, our intellectual concepts do not arise by way of an intellectual activity on empirical data but rather they are somehow given along with human nature. Hence they are innate or they also appear at suitable occasions. Obviously, every one of the above mentioned authors presents his own individual solution. The only factor common to all of them is that intellectual conceptions are connected with the human intellect because man is fundamentally a spiritual entity who lives his one intellectual life.

To avoid the charge that our assertions are without foundation, let us glance briefly at the solutions proposed by the above-mentioned eminent proponents. Plato's theory of innate ideas presented in the Phaedo and Meno is well known. Man, as soul, knew ideas directly before he was joined to the body. He knew them in previous incarnations. "The soul, then, as being immortal", Plato writes... "and having been born again many times, and having seen all things that exist, whether in this world or in the world below, has knowledge of them all... for as all nature is akin, and the soul has learned all things, there is no difficulty in her eliciting or as men say learning, out of a single recollection all the rest, if a man is strenuous and does not faint; for all enquiry and all learning is but recollection".[8]

> "...knowledge is simply recollection, if true, also necessarily implies a previous time in which we have learned that which we now recollect. But this would be impossible unless our soul had been in some place before existing in the form of man.[9]

St. Augustine, who accepted the notion of a soul using the body, but, on the other hand, as needing illumination for knowledge of necessary, change-less, and eternal truths was searching for the source of this truth: "Now where could our mind discover these characters of truth? Not in things, for all of them is either immutable or eternal. Nor can mind discover these characters in itself, since, like all created things, it is contingent, mutable

and enduring in time. The only way to account for these characters of truth in the human mind is to admit that every time it forms a true judgment our mind is so to speak, in contact with something that is immutable and eternal. But to say 'immutable' and 'eternal' is tantamount to saying God. The existence of immutable truths in mutable minds is the proof of the existence of God... God is the inner master who teaches the same truth to all the minds that seek after it. He is so to say, the intelligible sun which enlightens the minds of all men".[10]

According to Descartes' opinion, there exist in us certain innate ideas, as for example, the idea of "things", "thoughts", "truths", "God", along with acquired ideas, such as hearing thunder, feeling fire, seeing the sun, and ideas formulated by a knowing intellect, e.g. idea of a siren, griffin, centaur.[11] Among these ideas, some seem to be born with me, others to come from without, and the rest to be made by myself. For I have the ability to conceive what is generally called a thing, or a truth, or a thought, and it seems to me that I do not conceive this from anything but my own nature.[12]

According to Descartes, ideas are born in the same sense that certain talents are born with nature or sickness in certain families. Just as children at birth do not show actually inherited psychical traits but only an inclination in a given direction; so too, in the human intellect, there is a power which without the cooperation of material things, brings out the innate ideas which are the objective representations of things. These ideas do not belong to experience, even though their use takes place jointly with sensible knowledge.

Leibniz, beginning with the premise that it is impossible for one thing to have causal influence on another - "the monads are self-enclosed and have no windows" - is of the opinion that the soul, as chief monad, attains a knowledge of the world not under the influence of material things, but completely automatically, on the excision of sense perceptions. An innate emanation of knowledge is only equated with a previous act of knowledge which can be recognized as the sufficient reason for the following act of knowledge. Acts of knowledge however, correspond to reality, as a result of the activity of "Pre-established Harmony", in virtue of which, God has so ordered the world that the activity of one thing corresponds to the actions of another thing. This theory gives rise to a false causal interpretation of the world.[13]

What is meant by Innate Ideas?

According to *The Encyclopedia Americana,*

> innate ideas are ideas with which a person is born or, less strictly, which are at least not learned, abstracted, or compiled from sense perception.[14]

All along, many people, especially theologians, philosophers and psychologists, have thought that such ideas exist and are the bases of religion, morality, mathematics, logic or common sense. The term "innate ideas" therefore, according to the Encyclopedia is useful both for bare concepts (such as God, justice, number, or physical objects) and for a grasp of truth about the corresponding objects (such as the existence of God, the laws of justice or number, and so forth.[15]

The theory of innate ideas, in any of its philosophically significant forms, claims that all morally right judgment or all science, or both, rest upon or consist in a knowledge a priori either of:

(a). Universal principles governing reality or

(b). Objects transcending sensory experience.[16]

The problem is that since proponents of the theory of innate ideas deny that conceptions of universal principles or of transcendent objects are derived either from sensory experience or from intuitions of non-sensory reality, they are left with the problem of explaining their genesis. This, they believe they solve by holding these conceptions to be innate or inborn.

The foundations for this kind of position flow from the conviction that our knowledge cannot refer to subjective ideas, since the latter are only modifications of our psyche. For this reason, only something objective and eternal can be this object. As it is evident in human knowledge that the known "essences of things" are necessary, eternal and changeless, and hence have divine, it is not surprising that what is first in the ontological order is also first in the cognitive-psychical order, if there exists a connection between knowledge and being.

Obviously, such reason flow from far-reaching misconceptions and a failure to distinguish between the mode of cognition and the mode of existing, or between the different modifications of signs, which are found in the fact of knowing, etc. But above all the absurdity of the consequences, which flow from such an accepted position, falsifies the accepted assumptions. It is useless to speak here any further about such consequences. Suffice it to recall that they lead to postulating either pantheism or an angelism, or finally, a denial of knowledge itself.

Locke's Critique of Innatism as a Theory of Knowledge through His Empiricism

Empiricism, as it is found in the thought of Locke and others, represents an opposite direction in the development of the problem of knowledge. Clearly, time and space would not allow us to describe fully Locke's empiricism in all aspect. It is sufficient to bring into relief only some fundamental aspects of his position, so that against this background we can perceive the subjective conditions of man's cognitive functions.

From a certain point of view, English empiricism can be treated as a continuation of Descartes' idea. For both Locke and Hume based their entire philosophical systems on an analysis of the epistemological point of departure, previously proposed by Descartes. The difference between them and Descartes reduces itself (in the point of departure) to a greater and more fundamental emphasis on the empirical character of our ideas. For Descartes held that the basic ideas are inborn in us, while the English empiricists, who accepted the validity of the starting point in philosophy for an analysis of the ideas themselves, accepted that these ideas are empirical in character.

It was precisely Locke who substituted general images for universal concepts and further, in keeping with the remainder of the Cartesian tradition, called them 'idea'. This idea is to be a hazy, typical image whose individuating notes have been obliterated. These general images, inspite of their imperfection, are needed by man for communication with others and for expansion in knowledge. Locke understands abstraction in a strictly concrete manner as a kind of separation of certain notes of an image from other, co-existing and co-appearing ones in a concretely saturated image. The result of such abstraction is an abstract image. It becomes general (in a certain sense) because it can represent and replace all the particular images of this attribute.[17]

According to Locke, all our knowledge originate from sense experience. "Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu". He denied or rejected the claim of Plato and others that there are innate ideas, on the other hand, he postulated that the human mind is blank at birth (i.e. to say in a state of Tabular Rasar).

Our knowledge, Locke points out, is made up of ideas and all the ideas we have are either ideas of sensation or ideas of reflection, therefore all our knowledge has its origin in sense experience or are formed or constructed from the simple idea of sensation and reflection. Sensation provides the basis of reflection. Reflection refers to the operation of the mind and it is a process that yields further ideas. Ideas can be simple or complex. The most basic elements of experience is simple ideas. Complex or compound ideas are formed from simple ideas.

Simple ideas of sensation are divided into two (1). Primary qualities, which are those qualities, which inhere in the object, while secondary qualities are not so inherent, they are subjective and take their character from the relationship between the object and the person having the experience. This relationship is mediated by other characters. That is to say the medium through which something is experienced determines the character of the secondary qualities.

The basic claim of Locke is that our knowledge consists of ideas, and all our ideas is immediately derivable from sense experience or from ideas of sensation through reflections.

The question arises as to whether there is any idea which are not so derived? If we take such logical concepts as validity, falsity, truth, reason, we may ask what is the origin of these ideas? Locke would say that such ideas are not immediately derived from sense experience, but are derived from our reflection upon the structure of human thinking and the relation of our ideas to the outside world.

One of the more pervasive concepts in the whole of the Essay is that of "idea". Locke was careful to include in book one several statements about ideas, which were most important for his use of that term. He wrote these statements with the innatist in mind, who worked with a different notion of idea. We refer to Locke's remark in Book 1, chapter 1-5, where he said that to have an idea in the mind but not to be conscious of that idea is impossible. He reverts to his claim in Book 1, chapter 3-6 there he says that the only way in which there could be ideas in the mind "which the mind does not actually think on" is if those ideas are in the memory. Children are born empty of ideas, he submits.

The phenomena presented by external and internal realities, whether received, retained or elaborated, are called 'ideas' by Locke. For an idea in the Essay signifies the particular object immediately known, or of which there is consciousness, in any act of understanding. The particular phenomena of outward things, when they are actually presented in sense, or of our own minds when we are self-conscious, the phenomena when represented in the particular mental images of memory, or of plastic imagination; and also the phenomena when, in our "abstract notions", they are viewed universally, or as appearances "such as more than one particular thing can correspond with and be represented by" -all alike are "ideas" in Locke's meaning of ideas "whatever it is which the mind can be employed about in thinking", Locke tells us (introduction and 8) is what is meant by an idea in the Essay. Locke wants this to take the place of the established opinion.

The second chapter of Locke's book as a whole is meant to open the way to Locke's account of the history of human ideas, and the certain knowledge and probable presumptions to which they give rise, by showing that men are born ignorant of everything. He shows here that general assent is no argument to prove any idea innate, as there is no proposition, which he says, someone has not been found to deny. Once denied by a person, such an argument is punctured and can therefore no longer hold valid as a proof in favour of innatism. Besides, if children, idiots, etc do not know a supposed innate proposition, such cannot be claimed innate in all men. Worse still if reason is to discover them that further makes a mess of innatism, as such ought to be known to all men regardless of their age and state of life. Having said these, Locke takes the trouble to state the steps by which the mind attains several truths.

In chapter 3, Locke passes from the abstract principles of speculative knowledge which are interesting only to the philosophic few to the principles of morality and conduct found to be made interesting to the mass of mankind. In this, as in the previous argument, when he concludes against innateness, Locke asserts self-evidence. Here, he demonstrates, for example, that faith and justice are not owned, as principles by all men, therefore, cannot be innate. One other reason why practical principles cannot be innate is the fact that "there is no moral rule for which someone has not demanded a reason, which would be ridiculous if it were innate. Conscience is no proof of any innate moral rule because even "some men with the same bent of conscience prosecute what others avoid. This lack of uniformity, according to Locke, proves that such moral rules cannot be innate. He presents examples to show that men have contrary moral principles. Men should not be ignorant of what is innate in them. Locke appeals to his readers to examine principles before accepting them.

There are equally other proofs against innate principles both speculative and practical. Intelligible propositions, he would say, presuppose intelligible terms. The world had been perplexed, he implies, by being asked to believe propositions in which the terms were void of meaning. Hence Locke's hostility to innate propositions, as inconsistent with genuine insight, and with the consciousness, which he assumes to be essential to an "idea". It is along this line Locke asserts that impossibility and identity are no innate ideas, whole and part, idea of worship, idea of God, fire and substance are not innate either. Added to these, Locke argues that no propositions can be innate since no ideas are. No innate ideas in the memory.

Locke's repeated assertion is that "knowledge depends upon the right use of those powers nature hath bestowed on us", knowledge does not depend upon innate principles.

Evaluation

From the beginning, one notices Locke's dislike for the epistemological purpose for which the doctrine of innate knowledge was being used by his contemporaries. One also notices that his epistemological comments on this matter are oblique rather than direct.

For the purpose of attack, Locke treats the doctrine primarily as if it were an empirical hypothesis about how we come to possess certain items of knowledge rather than as an epistemological thesis about why certain principles are items of knowledge.

The evidence of this becomes clear if one looks at the sorts of arguments he employed against it. These are often subtle, especially when

he is dealing with the defensive maneuvers, which his opponents make, in response to his criticisms. However, the essence of his argument is to show that there are no grounds for believing the hypothesis that there are any innate principles in man. The burden of his case is borne by chapter one of Book one in which he argues against the existence of innate speculative principles.[18]

The first is that even if there were propositions which commanded universal assent, this would not prove them to be innate unless all other explanation of such uniformity of belief could be confidently ruled out.[19] The second is that even for the most promising candidates, universal assent does not exist. Thirdly, children and idiots do not possess such prepositional knowledge. All defensive moves against the last objection involve either modifying the doctrine to the true but trivial claim that we have an innate capacity to know, which if represented as a doctrine of innate knowledge is "a very improper way of speaking", or, alternatively, they involve the supposition that children do possess this knowledge, but with the qualifications that it remains latent until a later date - for example, until they come to the age of reason.

But this line of defence presupposes that it is possible for someone to know a proposition of which he has never been aware. Locke pronounces this to be "near contradiction".

Locke's theory of knowledge can be critique on the following grounds. It is grounded in experience. When examined and critically analyzed, "experience" is found to be far too ambiguous a term on which to base a systematic theory of ' knowledge.

It is equally pertinent to observe that our senses deceive us. This is true when we see a mirage, in colour blindness, in the changing sizes of objects according to distance, in the taste of subjects according to our psychological and physiological state, in states of water, in hallucination and other forms of illusion. The problem is that there is no way of immediately differentiating the real from the unreal in such experiences.

The question therefore is how do we differentiate between a true sense experiences from a false or illusory sense of experience. Thus arises the famous arguments from illusion, which places doubts to the reliability of sense experience.

The primary use of the innate doctrine among Locke's contemporaries was epistemological. If one takes the trouble to go through Yolton's book,[20] one would discover that this doctrine was constantly being appealed to in some form or another as a means of guaranteeing the truth of the fundamental principles of religion and morality. Locke's critics argue that his attack on the doctrine was tantamount to an attempt to undermine belief in these fundamental principles.

Conclusion

John Locke's treatment of non-innatism is charming and highly educative. It is intellectually provocative. His emphasis on experience and reflection to account for the origin of our knowledge is clear and acceptable to me. When however I read other contributions, I discovered that Locke does not have all the truth. Other philosophers who talk of and accept the fact of latent capacities along with experience and reflection to account for the origin of human knowledge also have their points.

It is the considered view of Aristotle that:

> the investigation of truth is in one way hard, in another easy. An indication of this is found in the fact that no one is able to attain the truth adequately, while on the other hand, we do not collectively fail, but everyone says something, true about the nature of things. And while individually we contribute little or nothing to the truth, by the union of all a considerable amount is amassed. It is just that we should be grateful, not only to those with whose views we may agree but also to those who have expressed more superficial views, for these also contributed something by developing before us the power of thought.[21]

Both innatism and empiricism as theories of knowledge do not address the basic facts which are realized through the ego's acts of cognition of equally material and immaterial contents. Neither do they seem to deal with the fact that our abstractive, intellectual cognition is very intimately connected with a sensibly representational cognition.

Therefore we must search for an interpretation of the observed cognitional facts on a middle course, where there will be affirmed a connection between intellectual knowledge and sensible sources - emphasizing, at the same time, the different structural character of the acts of intellectual cognition, which points to direct structure of the subject of knowing acts, i.e. the intellect.

If in agreement with our constructed analysis, we hold the position that, on the one hand, the nature of our universal expressions and judgments is fundamentally different from singular, changing and sensible expression which are subject to time - and, on the other hand, we observe the simultaneous co-appearance of the same sensible expressions as the necessary foundation and unique source of the cognitive contents, then we cannot agree with either of the extreme empiricist positions, nor, likewise with, the position of a priori nativism of various kinds. In a word, we must affirm the sensible realm as the single source of the contents of knowledge about the world, even though the character of the knowledge, which has been gained or fashioned, is qualitatively different from the sensations themselves. In such a case, the solutions proposed either by extreme rationalism or by extreme empiricism cannot be accepted. If "virtue", according to Aristotle "lies in the middle", then we must make the following observation by way of conclusion:

(a). The foundation for our human knowledge in regard to its contents is sensible perceptions; a denial of this fact would make our contact with the world unthinkable;

(b). The contents of human knowing testify that they come from a special immaterial power called the intellect, which differs from senses;

(c). Since we wish to preserve the receptive character of knowing, we must accept an a priori (in the ontic sense) power, which makes possible (non-contradictory) the very fact of knowing universal contents. (The issues raised up in a, b, c above shall be taken up in another write-up because of limitations of time and space here).

Locke's arguments are supposed to check the excesses of innatism. In doing this, he ended up throwing away the bathwater with the baby. We can still retain the baby by throwing away the bath-water alone. This is possible if we follow the concept of knowledge proposed by Aristotle and completed by St. Thomas Aquinas.

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3. See e.g., J. Locke, op. cit. Bk. 1, Ch. 2, pp. 9-12.
4. Ibid: Bk. 1, Ch. 1, p. 5. This psychological truth is almost a conceptual truth: "it seeming near a contradiction to say that there are truths imprinted on the soul which it perceives or understands not" we shall see more of this in the main body of the work.
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9. Ontical subsistence is something different than fullness in the aspect of the so-called species. For soul-ego is not man, but through it man exists as a being of a definite "species". Cf. Thomas, Q. Disp. De Anima, a. 1.
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EVALUATING THE IMPORTANCE OF MUSEUMS IN NIGERIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

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Introduction

There is no gainsaying that the existing relationship between archaeology and Museums is very important. This relationship can be likened to seeds in a pod because if the Archeologist studies man's past as revealed by his remains, yet is unable to showcase these data, enlighten or educate the public with them, then his job is more or less incomplete. Although, this is not to say that the main aim of the Archeologist is the display of artefacts. To understand this relationship, it is pertinent to know what each term means.

Archeology is the scientific study of ancient cultures through the examination of their material remains such as buildings, graves, tools and other artefacts while Museums are buildings in which objects of artistic, cultural, historical or scientific interest are kept and shown to the public. Notably in both definitions, reference has been made to culture. Culture being the sum total of man's customs and values. It goes without saying therefore, that the relationship between Archeology and Museums is a symbiotic one.

Having noted the intricate relationship between Museums and Archeology, it is against this backdrop that this paper examines the definitions of Museums not only as an avenue for revealing the study of man in retrospect and educating the public but also an avenue for adding to knowledge. It concludes by examining the state of Museums in Nigeria today, stating the need for efficacy in its management and the suggestions for the way forward.

Museums play a very critical role in understanding the cultural values and the history of any given society in Nigeria and the world at large. The role of Museums as an avenue through which artefacts are collected, preserved and exhibited cannot be over-emphasized as they are now seen as not only with the above stated aims but also as a creator of employment and revenue generation if properly harnessed.

Conceptual classification

Museums

Museum as a term traces its origin to a Greek word, museion. The term was used in reference to a sanctuary that was dedicated to the Greek mythology of the nine daughters of Zeus. According to Abun (1987), Okpoko (2011) the muses were believed to be Nine Virginal daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne who were charged with the responsibility to protect and encourage art and science, poetry, music, dance and history of people of Greece. These daughters were reportedly good dancers and singers, thereby aiding men to forget their troubles. In the words of Okita (1985, Okpoko 2011), thus, museum became associated with a place where men's minds found rest and aloofness from everyday affairs as well as a sense of inspiration.

The American people's encyclopedia defines museum to be an institution for research, teaching, exhibition and conservation in one or more fields of human activity such as art, science, history or industry. While the American Association of Museums defines museums as a non-profit permanent , established institution, not existing primarily for the purpose of temporary exhibitions, exempt from Federal and State income taxes, open to the public and administered in the public interest for the purpose of conserving and preserving, studying, interpreting, assembling and exhibiting to the

public for its instruction and enjoyment objects and specimens of educational and cultural value, including artistic, scientific (whether animate or inanimate), historical and technological material'. Museums thus defined shall include botanical gardens, zoological parks, aquaria, planetaria, historical societies and historic houses and sites which meet the requirements set form in the preceding sentence (Ambrose & Paine 1993) cited in Okpoko (2011).

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) gave varying definitions of Museums which changed over time as it got amended from 1951 through 1971, 1975 and finally to 2006. Therefore, the most recent definition of Museums by ICOM (2006) shall be cited.

In 2006, ICOM defined Museums as a non-profit, permanent institutions in the service of society and of its development, open to the public which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, the tangible and intangible evidence of people and their environment. (ICOM Newsletter, 2006, Okpoko, 2011).

It should be noted that in all the definitions cited above, Museums aim at collection, preservation, study, interpretation and exhibition of cultural objects that also have educational value. Museums may be owned privately or publicly, so long as it has the earlier stated functions of collecting, preserving, enlightening the public through exhibition and also entertaining them. Not only do these museums give information about man's past, it equally pricks the curiosity of people who may desire to discover more about their past.

Archaeology

Archaeology is the study of man's past as revealed by his material remains. In the words of Okoko (1994) these remains (artefacts) are collected not as an end in themselves but as a means of obtaining information about their makers, the lives they lived and how they related to the environment. Artefacts are collected so that meaning may be "abstracted" from them. These material remains, or objects are seen as containing, reflecting or saying something about the people who produced and/or used them. The job of the archeologist does not end with the collection of these artefacts but goes further in analyzing and interpreting them in order to obtain as much information as possible about the makers of these remains.

As stated by Philipson (1985) the findings of archeological research represent a major source of information about the continent's past, it is the principal source for most of prehistory and it makes a significant contribution to our understanding of more recent periods.

At this juncture, the synergy between Archaeology and Museums come into play, and the dire need for a continuous relationship between both fields of study cannot be over-emphasized.

History of Museums in Nigeria

It would be difficult to attempt dating the exact era when Museums emerged in Nigeria without stating that it originated first in ancient times, as far back as 555-538 BC when the last king of Babylon Nabodinus ordered the excavation of historic and ancient buildings. Not only were these relics found, they were displayed to the public. During the second century BC, the Greeks colonized different parts of the Mediterranean region. It was at this period that Ptolemy Sorter established what was known as 'Museum' based on Greek model at Alexandria in Egypt in about 300BC (Okpoko 2011). The Museum building according to Bazin (1967) was a repository of cultural artifacts and natural specimens. It served as a citadel of learning and was dedicated to the nine daughters of Zeus (the muses). In 1682, the term 'Museum' was used in English and was used to describe the collection of strange and exotic things.

In Nigeria however, being very cultural and religion people with an enviable rich cultural heritage, the different cultural materials that represented the political and ritualistic import of the people were often kept in the palaces of the chiefs or in the shrines of the traditional religion practitioners, and the responsibility of caring for these object/materials fell on the shoulders of the household if it were a household cultural or in the chief or priest.

However, the development of modern Museums began during the colonial period. In 1927, Kenneth Murray, an art teacher in the British colonial service was appointed to advice the government 'on effects of the colonial education system on local art' (Nzewunwa 1984, Okpoko 2011). Murray further advised the establishment of Museums and in as much this suggestion was delayed due to the 2nd world war, the suggestion was not unheeded and on July 28th, 1943, the Nigerian Antiquities service was established. This heralded the official birth of Museums in Nigeria. As it is with new establishments, which passes through phases, there was a trend of events and changes such as the dissolution of the National Antiquities Commission and the creation of the National Commission for Museums and Monument (NCMM) and it is this commission that is saddled with the responsibility of caring for Museums.

The Importance of Museums

There are different types of Museums as determined by many factors amongst which are: The collection in the Museum, the group that is in charge of its management, or the area/location. Its category notwithstanding, its importance in Archeology cannot be over-emphasized.

Museums provide an avenue for conducting research into the history of the country. It serves as a databank/repository of objects of cultural importance. It further creates awareness to the public through exhibitions.

To many people, the function or role of a Museum starts and ends with attractive and stimulating displays often in glass cases and in large exhibit halls or galleries. Although such displays are often enjoyed by the public, quite often, many people do not even appreciate what lessons are to be learnt from such displays (Fayenuwo & Amusa 2010).

Not only do Museums perform the role of collecting, evaluating, preservation and exhibition, they also create avenues for revenue generation.

In the developed countries, Museums are providing the prime function of offering enjoyable and rewarding stimulation for individual minds in their hours of freedom from their daily choices. It is not surprising that such Museums in Europe and America now make millions of Euros and Dollars yearly either through admission charges and/or sales of books, pamphlets, paintings, casts and other souvenirs. Nigeria can take a cue from this and create another avenue for generating funds aside from the excess emphasis that has been laid in petroleum as a revenue generator.

Youths can also be employed in the Museums as Security, Inventory Officer, etc. if they are not skilled in the field. On the other hand, graduates from related fields of study can be employed as tour guides, curator, etc. All of these will go a long way in providing income for the youth and unemployed if properly managed and organized.

Present State of Museums in Nigeria

Today, almost all the states can boast of a Museum. Apart from Museums owned and run by the Federal Government of Nigeria (referred to as National Museums), there are others that may be privately owned even if they have been opened to the public. Some higher institutions have also established Museums but what is the present state of these Museums that have been spread far and wide? Unfortunately, it cannot be said that their state is encouraging. Reason being the lack of interest of the Government and or Individuals whose input will go a long way in promoting the cause of Museums. There is also the issue of poor funding which cascades to poor welfare of staff. Thus poor welfare

may be responsible for the lack of appreciation and patriotism of the staff who have been employed to cater for these cultural heritages but who sell them or leave them intended.

Suggestions

All hope is not lost as this misnomer can be corrected by instilling in the staff, the importance and gravity of their office positions. Their welfare packages can also be reviewed upwards and this will serve as a motivation. With the enactment of protective laws for these items, the punishment metted out on any individual who is caught stealing these objects of value, should be such that will serve as a deterrent to any intending seller or buyer of these objects. Furthermore, the involvement of children can be of great help. As stated by Momin and Okpoko (1990), in Nigeria, children sections could be attached to most of the National Museums. In such sections, basic principles of humanities and Sciences can be explained in a simple way. The children should also be given the opportunity to closely inspect, or in some cases, handle these objects to see how they were made and how they function.

It is believed that if the value for cultural heritage is imbibed at a young age, the sermon of protection of archeological objects will not be preached as much as it is today. Parents should also encourage their children to volunteer to work in these Museums during holidays, thus, widening the horizon and deepening their understanding of value for the Museum as a whole and the wealth of knowledge that it houses.

Required efficacy in Museum Management

In preceding lines, mention has been made that the present state of Museums in Nigeria cannot be referred to as satisfactory. This handicap has been ascribed to lack of interest of individuals and government, lack of awareness and lack of funds.

It then becomes absolutely necessary to effectively manage these Museums in order to achieve its set goals. Management therefore is "concerned with the design and maintenance of an environment conducive to the performance of individuals who are working together in groups towards the accomplishment of pre-selected objectives" Krontz et al (1980), Okpoko (2011).

The well known principles of management include Unity of Command, Span of control, the scale principle, the division of labour and responsibility. While the four basic functions of management include planning, organizing, directing and controlling. Furthermore, to achieve the required efficacy in properly managing Museums, the finances should be properly managed. Also, the staff should be trained and retrained as the need arises. There should also be functional channels of communication and adequate health and safety measures put in place. All these will aid the effective management of Museums in Nigeria and the world at large.

The Need for Legal Protection of Archeological Finds in the Museums.

Going by the importance of the artefacts that are kept in the Museum for safeguarding and education, it becomes pertinent to provide a form of legal protection for these relics / cultural heritage as soon as they are found.

According to Prott and O'keefe (1984) when a decision has been reached to give legislative protection to the archeological heritage and the appropriate legal and system has been selected, the next key issue is to determine what exactly is a 'relic'.

The dictionary meaning of "relics" is 'surviving trace or memories of a meaning of a custom, belief, period, people etc. object interesting of age or association. (Prott & O'keeke 1984). The onus of what needs protection and what does not therefore falls on the professionals in the field of cultural heritage or cultural resource management in as much as these protective laws may vary from place to place or may not exist at all. Erroneously, once the desired information has been obtained from a certain object of archeological importance, the attention hitherto given to that object wanes. But then

again, in the words of Prott & O'keeke (1984) it is true once information has been extracted, there may still be reasons for protecting an object, other than the possibility of extracting still more information at a later date (by the development of new scientific techniques for example).

With the enactment of these protective laws, indiscriminate excavations of archeological sites will be curbed if not totally halted.

This paper thus suggests that an inventory of all ongoing excavations be taken. This further makes inventory of all finds an easier task, thereby making the discovery of such an object possible in the event of loss/theft. As succinctly put by Agrantal (1973) cited in Arinze (1990), a proper documentation should give full and precise information about any object in a collection. Such documented information serves the legal purpose of proving ownership at any given time.

> The thefts from which Museums everywhere in the world have been suffering increasingly in recent years notably in India and in other Asian (and African) countries of rich cultural heritage of archaeological, historic and art value – where security is difficult to assure – emphasize the need of procedures of registration furnishing precise permanent unchallengeable evidence of ownership. In the long run, this even tends to discourage theft, vandalism and smuggling, by impeding the illicit trade in such material and in substantiating claims for recovery of stolen and smuggled materials."

The register should be a detailed as possible so as to cover all the information of the objects that can be referred to as cultural heritage of the Nation.

All the above suggestions are not say the NCMM is not performing its functions neither does it mean that the commission does not have a register. However, there should be concerted efforts aimed at improving the already existing procedures.

Conclusion

Conclusively, the paper highlighted the history of Museums in Nigeria, the role of museums in archaeology and the present state of these museums as well as the required steps for its effective management. It further highlighted the need for legal protection of these archaeological finds.

It concludes by stating the dire need for the continuous symbiotic relationship between Museums and archaeology for the provision of revenue for youths and the public awareness of our rich cultural heritage to the world at large.

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THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF HAUSA LANGUAGE FOR THE PURPOSE OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER: PRELUDE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS) IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
Hausa Language is one of the three major Nigerian Languages, and it has more number of speakers than any Language in Nigeria. It is a lingua-franca in West Africa. The language has a well developed orthography and many publications in text books, journals, newspapers and magazines. In-depth researches have been conducted on the Language by foreigners and Nigerians alike. The Language is also used as a medium of broadcasting in Nigeria, and many international media houses like B.B.C, V.O.A, Radio Dutch Ville, Radio Moscow, Radio Beijing, Radio France, Radio Iran, Radio Libya etc. In the same vein, Hausa is used as a medium of instruction in Nigeria from primary to university, and it is also studied up to Diploma, N.C.E, B.A, M.A, and PhD levels in Nigeria and many other countries of the world. Having attained these developmental levels in terms of growth and usage, it is the view of this paper that effective teaching and learning in Hausa Language can fast-tract the transfer of technology into Hausa and invariably assist in the attainment of the goals of Millennium Development Goals (MDGS).

Introduction

The National Policy on Education (2004) identifies Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba as Nigeria's major languages. A learner in our post primary schools is therefore expected to study and pass one of these major languages in addition to his mother tongue (M.T) before certification in Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (SSCE).

Among these three major Nigerian languages, Hausa has more number of speakers and is a lingua-franca in West Africa. The language has a well developed orthography and many publications in textbooks, journals, newspapers and magazines. According to Nwadibia (2004) "the teaching and learning of science – based disciplines in our schools is drastically on the decline." This is not sending a good signal to concerned individuals who feel that things should be geared towards joining in the scientific and technological race in order to meet the objectives of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Nigeria. Coupled with the above is the massive exodus of very highly trained and seasoned professionals for greener pasture or job satisfaction elsewhere. It is in line with the above scenario that this paper suggests the teaching and learning of science and technology in Hausa language for the purpose of technology transfer, which would invariably lead us to the achievement of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Nigeria.

Teaching Science and Technology in Mother Tongue

It has for long been advocated that the Child's mother tongue is the most effective medium for concept formation and concept communication. For instance, Afoloyan (1977) in Iliyasu and Ladan (2007) demonstrated that it is no longer valid to say any indigenous Nigerian language cannot cope with scientific and mathematical concept.

Several studies have been carried out on the issue of mother tongue for instructions in schools. Most of these studies have proved that learning in the mother tongue provides more effective means of education than in second or foreign language. Fafunwa (1977) in Abba and Iliyasu (2006) opined that

> "It is universally agreed that a child learns best in his or her mother tongue. Yet, of all the continents and peoples of the world, it is only Africa and perhaps in a few other ex-colonial countries that formal education is offered in a language that is foreign to the child."

The implication of imposition of foreign language to the child is that it stresses the child to search for two things during formal teaching. That is learning the foreign language and at the same time struggling to comprehend the concepts.

Ehindero (1980) cited by Iliyasu and Ladan (2007), compares the achievements of elementary school children in science, on the basis of the medium of instruction. A science achievement test was used to collect data from one hundred and thirty pupils. The analysis of the result showed that pupils in the group that used mother tongue as medium of instruction performed significantly better than those who used English.

An Overview of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The 191 members of the United Nations agreed and pledged to meet the following goals. That by the year 2015, all countries including Nigeria should:-

MDG 1	-	Eradicate Extreme poverty and hunger (+ Invest in today's children – Nigeria's future reduce by ½ the proportion of people living on less than one dollar a day and people suffering from hunger).
MDG 2	-	Achieve Universal Primary Education (+ Ensure that all boys and girls complete primary school) + stop the trafficking of children and send them to school).
MDG 3	-	Achieve Gender Equality: + Eliminate gender Disparity at all levels (+ Educate a woman, educate a nation, Empower women).
MDG 4	-	Reduce child or infant mortality (+ Immunize children to health centres for growth monitoring and basic childcare).
MDG 5	-	Improve Maternal Health (+ Promote the benefits of antenatal care for pregnant women + reduce by ¾, the maternal mortality ratio) + Improve maternal and child nutrition by using vitamin "A" enriched foods.
MDG 6	-	Combat HIV/AIDs malaria and other disease (+ Halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDs, malaria and other diseases + Love and care for children living with HIV/AIDs) + Use insecticide treated bed nets to protect the family from malaria.
MDG 7	-	Ensure Environmental sustainability (+ Help protest our, environment by proper use of water) + Increase access to safe drinking water + improve the lots of slum dwellers.
MDG 8	-	Develop a Global Partnership for Development (+ Establish partnership with children and young people) + develop an open trading and financial system that is not discriminatory. + promote good governance and poverty eradication + address the special needs of less developed communities.

Looking at the above goals of MDG, it is impossible for Nigeria to meet them before the year 2015 more especially that the targeted year is at hand. This is because most of our public Primary and Junior Secondary Schools are not ready to accommodate science

and technology, and they are more or less bombarded with English language which the students find it difficult to comprehend.

Criteria for Language of Science and Technology

Jinju (1992) says for any language to qualify as a language for science and technology, it must meet some certain criteria. The criteria are as follows:-

1. The availability of relevant linguistic works on the language.
2. The logical wealth of the language, i.e. the language must be rich in its vocabularies.
3. Flexibility of the language in question and the capability of that language to accommodate scientific and technological terms.
4. The availability of abundant literary works.
5. The unifying role of the language
6. The spread of the language. It must spread over major parts or the whole of the national territory as a matter of fact due to its dynamic and geographical relevance. It must be an international language.
7. The popularity of the language. At least the majority of people should like the language for various reasons.

Hausa as a language has satisfied almost all the above criteria. The language has been in use for pedagogical purposes. Both foreign and indigenous researchers have studied almost every aspects of the language. The language is international, because it is a lingua-franca in West Africa, and international media houses like BBC, VOA, Radio Beijing, Radio Russia, Radio France, etc. are broadcasting in the language. Presently, lecturers of Hausa in Nigeria and Foreign Universities are under going various researches to meet the linguistic challenges of scientific and technological terms.

Scientific and Technology Terms in Hausa

Jinju (1992), Amfani (1998), Karaye and Sani (2003) have individually made their own contributions in translating some scientific and technology terms into Hausa language. Consider the following examples:

A Physics (Fizika)

1.	Mercury	-	Utaridu
2.	Energy	-	Attakar Kimiyya
3.	Solar energy	-	Attakar rana
4.	Telescope	-	Madubin nesa
5.	Nuclear physics	-	Fizikar nukiliya
6.	Gravity	-	Nauyin iska
7.	Rotation	-	Juyawa
8.	Electromotive force	-	Ƙarfin haurowar lantarki
9.	Microscope	-	Madubin likita
10.	Calorimeter	-	Ma'aunin zafi.

B Mathematics (Lissafi)

1.	Arithmetical radicals	-	Usulan lissafi
2.	Formula	-	Ma'auni
3.	Equation	-	Daidaito
4.	Triangle	-	AlwatiƘa
5.	Fraction	-	Ƙasaru
6.	Value	-	Daraja
7.	Square root	-	Saiwa murabba

8. Geometry - Jomatare
9. Number - Adadi
10. Whole number - Adadi salili

C Astronomical Terms (Kalmomin Ilimin Taurari)

1. Orbit - Majuyi
2. Galaxy - Majara
3. Eclipse of the moon - Husufin wata
4. Eclipse of sun - Husufin rana
5. Space - Duniyar wata

D Biology (Ilimin Halittu)

1. Fish - Kifi
2. Gill - Leke
3. Pectoral fin - Ƙayar kirji
4. Scales - Ƙumbobi
5. Upper Mandible - Haɓar sama
6. Forehead - Goshi
7. Flank - Gefe
8. Feathers - Gashi
9. Wing coverts - Gashin fikafikai
10. Tail - Wutsiya

E. Computer Terms (Kalmomin Kwamfyuta)

1. Internet - Yanar Gizo
2. Email - Yanar sadarwa
3. Website - Taga
4. Google - Komai da ruwanka
5. Hard- disk drive - Gurbin babban kundi
6. Printer - Mabugiya/ Firinta
7. Scanner - Makwafiya/ Sikana
8. Mouse - Bakin Akun kwamfyuta/ Linzami
9. Laptop - Kwamfyutar cinya
10. Modem - Mahaɗi

F. Medical Terms (Kalmomin Aikin Likita)

1. ARO System - Hanyar rarrabe nau'in jini
2. Anemia - Ƙarancin jini
3. Allergy - Borin jini
4. Appendix - Cindon hanji
5. Artery - Jijiyar jini
6. Bacteria - Kwayoyin cuta
7. Blister - Bororo
8. Insulin - Maganin Cutar Sukari
9. Migraine - Ciwon ɓarin kai
10. Obesity - Ƙiba

Economic and Business Terms (Kalmomin Tattalin Arziki da Kasuwanci)

1. Accounting - Littafin Shiga da Fitar Kuɗi
2. Accrued expense - Jimilar kuɗin da aka kashe
3. Accrued revenue - Jimilar kuɗin shiga
4. Balance sheet - Takardar bayanin balas

5. Book keeping - Littafin cinikin yau da kullum
6. Broker - Dillali
7. Capital expenditure - Kuɗaɗen gudanar da manyan ayyuka
8. Gross National Product (GNP) – Arzikin Kasa na Shekara
9. Overhead cost - Kuɗin hidima
10. Wholesaler - Babban Dillali

The Role of Hausa Language in Meeting the Needs of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

Hausa as an international language can assist greatly in meeting the goals of MDGs in Nigeria through radio, television, newspaper and other educational gadgets nationally and internationally.

Likewise, Hausa has a vital role to play in mass mobilization of the populace to be abreast with MDGs goals through pamphlets, traditional rulers, pressure groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

We all know that mother tongue is a strong force in the mobilization of the general populace. Since most of science and technology terms have been translated into Hausa, this would assist the rural and urban dwellers in understanding the goals of MDGs and thereby improve the chances of meeting the goals.

By using indigenous language and traditional rulers in mobilization, government of the country would save a lot of money for other developmental projects.

Recommendations and Conclusion

In order to effectively meet the goals of MDGs in Nigeria, the government is advised to use Hausa radios both local and international in mobilizing the populace.

Government is also called upon to take the responsibility of sponsoring the translation of science and technology terms not only in Hausa, but in other Nigerian languages.

Government should make funds available for researchers to conduct extensive research on science and technology so that Nigeria would meet the challenges of the present competitive world.

In conclusion, this paper has examined the roles of Hausa in the manufacture of science and technology terms. The paper also highlighted the popularity of Hausa not only in Nigeria but in other countries of the world. It is the belief of this writer, that if Hausa is carefully used, it would assist in meeting the goals of MDGs in Nigeria.

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HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA POLITICS, 1960 – 2010

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Abstract
Nigeria as nation got independence in 1960 from British government which allowed indigenous people to form self-government and rule themselves base on the acceptable laws and orders provided by indigenes. All citizens saw it as a welcome development that gave them opportunity to develop at their own pace. Certainly, this occurred at the first instance up to the first republic of 1963. But things became worse for the country when the first military coup of January 15, 1966 sowed apple of discord between the three major tribes in Nigeria Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo as a result of miscarriage of well-conceived plan of master-minder of that coup Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu. Although, the argument had emanated from different quarters that if Nigeria was given opportunity to develop at the pace the country was moving at that time probably the Nigeria would have been among developed nation today, but that ill-fated coup was a clog in the wheel of nation's progress. The base of this argument is that Nigeria achievements after independence still depend on the work of leaders who secure independence and also directed the affairs of nation within that short period of time up till today. Since then Nigeria has been grasping with different system of government, yet, the nation is still far from the solution. This paper seeks to analyze Nigeria politics from independence, offer suggestion on the way forward. The source is strictly base on secondary source from textbook, newspapers, internet and journals.
Keywords: Politics, Government and Development

Introduction

The state called Nigeria is regarded as the most populous Black Country in the world, the "Giant of Africa" without a serious guiding principle to lead Africa as a continent is glaring. The politics of ideology that would serve the interest of its population is zero, politics of winners take all has become the order of the day. Therefore, the paper is divided into six parts. The first briefly introduces the topic; the second examines the geographical setting of Nigeria and explanation of keywords; third discusses Nigeria from independence to the era of presidential system of government; while the fourth X-rays the transition period of Ibrahim Babangida, General Abacha and Abdulsalami regimes from 1985 -1999; the fifth analyzes Nigeria from 1999 -2010; and the sixth discusses the inferences.

It is on record that from 1960 till date, Nigeria have organized national conferences to find lasting solution to her political lock-jam all to no avail; the only feasible items on the table when the conferences are organized is either personal aggrandizement of participants or the ethnic agenda of the regions that produced the delegates, this has been a serious problem of the mission to find lasting solution to the political system of Nigeria.

It is only in Nigeria that the claims of federating units have become a mirage; the **nation's federating units are working under the whims and caprices of the president; while the state governo**rs are controlling the affairs of Local Government Areas as an extension of the executive arm of state government in all states of the federation. The presidential power in Nigeria is akin to that of the absolute monarch of France in 1748 who's power has no boundary, this is because the 1999 constitution which ushered in this particular dispensation since May 29, 1999 has no peoples' mandate and argument has been on since then that for Nigeria to move forward, an autochthonous constitution must be written for acceptability, then, the people will accept it as their own document. This shows that the foundation of Nigeria's politics is shaky.

It is important to know the geographical setting of Nigeria with its diverse cultures; this would give us a clear understanding of the nation called Nigeria.

Geographical Setting of Nigeria

The land called Nigeria inhabits people with population of 140million[1] presently, the estimated figure is hovering around 170million. The diverse culture of Nigeria makes her unique in the West African Sub-region with 529 languages out of the above mentioned number, 522 are living and 7 are extinct. Of the living languages, 21 are institutional, 76 are developing, 357 are vigorous, while 26 are in trouble, and 42 are dying[2]. The federal Republic of Nigeria lies at the extreme inner corner of the Gulf of Guinea, and is the largest geo-political unit in West Africa. The country is located between parallels 4^0 and 14^0 North-entirely within the tropical zone, occupies a position where the western part of the African continent meet equatorial Africa.

Nigeria extends northward from the coastline for some 1, 170 kilometres. From the western border to the East, there is a distance of 1,260 kilometres at the widest part. The country extends in the South from the Atlantic Ocean (which is known variously along the Bight of Benin and Bight of Biafra; and the Bight of Biafra is now known as the Bight of Bonny) which washes the coastline for about 900 kilometres to the Sahara Desert in the North. Nigeria is bounded on the West by Republic of Niger. On the East, Nigeria shares a border with the Republic of Cameroon[3].

Nigeria covers an area of 923,768 square kilometres, making it about one-seventh of the settled and productive area of West Africa. It measures about 1,200 km (about 750mi) from east to west and about 1,050km (about 650mi) from north to south[4]. The most prominent physical feature of Nigeria is the Niger River, from which the country derives its name. The river rises in the mountain north-east of Sierra Leon, and enters Nigeria in the north-west, joins the Benue River at Lokoja, and then flows South into the Gulf of Guinea. At its mouth, the Niger breaks up into many channels to form a great swampy delta covering 45,000 square kilometres. Both the Niger and Benue provide the water basin for the greater part of the country[5]. Other rivers cross Imo, Ogun and Osun flow into the Gulf of Guinea. The Yobe River flows into the Lake Chad to drain the northern Plateau.

What Is Politics

Aristotle asserts that "Man is by nature a political animal" by this, he means that life is politics. The relationship of two or more people connotes how issues affecting their lives are placed on the table for decision. Politics is the process of making and execution of governmental decisions and policies; the authoritative allocation of values; or who gets what, when and how; the quest for power, order and justice; the art of influencing, manipulating and controlling others; a process of resolution of conflict, in society and a struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires and public issues[6]. In this case, politics portray the character of players when the favored feel comfortable, perceived favored becomes indecisive; while those not favored lead agitations against constituted authority for change in the status quo.

According to P.P Ekeh, politics is all matters that fall into the public realm. What this definition boils down to, is that the only matters that fall into the public realm constitute politics. Strictly speaking private matters are not issues for public debate and decision. Ekeh says it has to be public for it to be put on the tag of politics[7]. The fact that Nigeria is a State vested with sovereign power made it a public institution among the comity of nations and this made it possible to discuss and analyze her politics.

Government

This is an agency or machinery through which the will of the state is formulated, expressed and attained. The coming of together of people from different walks of lives

entrenched the formation of government as an institution. An agency saddled with political authority regulates and controls people's activities in line with an agreed constitution formulated or designed by the people.

If there is no agency or a body to regulate people's activities, the society will degenerate to what Thomas Hobbes described as primitive society where life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short".[8] Government is also regarded as the body vested with power and authority for maintaining security, peace and stability by making and enforcing conventional and fundamental laws in a given state or society.

Governments are empowered to establish and regulate the interrelationships of the people within their territorial confines, the relationship of the people with the community as a whole, and the dealings of the community with other political entities[9]. Government applies in this sense both to the government of national states, such as the federal government of Nigeria, the state governments and local governments at the grassroots which is being regarded as the closet form of government to Nigerians. The word government may refer to the people who form the supreme administrative body of a country, as the expression "the government of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan."

Development

Development comes from the French verb- veloper- meaning to wrap, that is, "to cause to grow gradually, fuller, larger, stronger and better." It is because development is conceived as a steady movement towards a better graduation that is seen as "a progression towards maturity and better exemplification of the nature of the type in question[10]

The word "Development" in general usage, is an incident that causes a situation to change or progress; it is a process of change and becoming larger, stronger, or more impressive, successful, or advanced, or causing somebody or something to change. It also regarded as a state in which the developing of something is not yet completed[11].

According to Walter Rodney, development in human society is a many-sided process. At the level of the individual, it implies increased skill and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material well-being[12]. The assertion of Rodney connotes the expectations of the Nigerian citizens today from self-government but the reverse is the case in terms of greater freedom of economic oppression which the independence of 1960 broke its shackle. Development became a problem because the wealth of the nation is confined in the hands of a few at the corridors of power. The current president (Goodluck Ebele Jonathan) admitted that Nigeria is rich but her wealth is kept in the hands of few politicians who are using the political office to enrich themselves[13].

The characteristics of development are visible in Nigeria among the citizenry, the skills and capacity to transform the nation are well vested on individuals, creativity is also there, and this has placed Nigeria on the greater position among the comity of nations. A typical of this could be found in our film industry today. Nigeria is ranked second in the world with little or no support from government[14.]

Nigeria from Independence to the Era of Presidential System of Government

The concept of politics, government and development which are key words in this work form the basis of argument in Nigeria's politics since 1960. These concepts are issues that determine the success of governance in any nation. The politics of Nigeria emerged from the British Concept of Tripartition, the separate kingdom of Bornu with the Fulani emirate. They also governed the South as a unit until the Richard's Constitution of 1946, which split the South into two, establishing a country with three large regions.

Based on these, three centre of power were established: Kaduna in the North, Ibadan in the West and Enugu in the East. Each region was administered from its centre of power by British representatives called Lieutenant-Governors. The overall coordinating

centre was Lagos, where the Governor resided. This was the pattern that led to the independence of Nigeria in 1960[15]. The regional government gave autonomy to each region to develop at their own pace which was regarded as the best form of federating units for developed federal system of government which the British government adopted for Nigerians at independence.

Unfortunately, the seed of discord laced the independence of Nigeria because of the imposition of majority interest on the minority through the adoption of regional government which failed to recognize the interest of Kanuri in the North-East, since that area was never captured by the Fulani. They could also have carved out a region for the Yoruba of Ilorin, Offa and Tiv of Benue, since their areas were geographically and ethnologically distinct from the Hausa areas in the North[16].

The British interest to keep Nigeria perpetually within their sphere of influence, even after independence, became a clog in the wheel of Nigeria's politics. The politics of majority takes all became the order of the day. This kept minority away from power at the centre hitherto President Goodluck Jonathan emerged as the first minority to rule Nigeria in what people tagged "Divine intervention."

At independence, the Western part was under the control of Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a lawyer, in the North, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna (Crown Prince) of Sokoto, emerged as the leader and in the East Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, a journalist emerged as the leader (reference Ademola). The event ushered in three major political parties with ethnic colouration. The Sardauna was the leader of the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) (inclusive, Northern Cameroon), which had a strong hold of the Northern region, and this formed the basis of regional government in the North. Also, Chief Obafemi Awolowo led a dominant party in the Western region (including Lagos) called Action Group (AG) and Dr. Nnmadi Azikwe led The National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) including Southern Cameroon. This brought the control of Eastern region under his control[17].

The Structure of Government at Independence

In 1958, a conference was held in London where it was decided that Nigeria should become independent on October 1, 1960. In the same conference the position of the Prime Minister was established[18]. The election of December 1959 ushered in political independence for Nigeria. This election witnessed series of alliances and counter alliances of the three major political parties and other minority parties registered in Nigeria then. The alliance of NPC and NCNC emerged at the centre, it threw up Sir AbubakarTafawa Balewa as the first Prime Minister and Dr. Nnmadi Azikwe as the first President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in a parliamentary system of government. At regional level Chief Obafemi Awolowo gave up his position (Premiership) in the West in 1959, to lead his party at Federal level. This made S.L Akintola premier of the Western region. In the East the Deputy Leader of NCNC Dr. Michael Okpara, became the Premier of Eastern region. The Sardauna of Sokoto (Ahmadu Bello) did not give up his position at regional level; he remained the Premier of the Northern region[19].

The main opposition leader at the formation of this government was Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the constitution which ushered in Nigeria's independence had provided for a ruling government and opposition party. The government was to rule according to the law, while the opposition was to check the excesses of the government[20]. The responsibility was vested on both sides of the divide for good governance, but the ruling party was uncomfortable with the opposition as a watch dog in a real democracy. This was the beginning of intolerance in the manner and way Nigerians played their politics from the independence.

Census of 1961

After the independence, the first litmus test for the NPC-led government was the census of March 1961[21]. Immediately the figure started coming out, the federal government felt that her interest would be hampered in the next general election because the figure showed that the South had a higher population than the North. The Federal Government refused to accept it with hope that the result would allocate more Federal seats to the region. This would have created equal opportunity for the major political parties in the South to emerge as equal partners in any future coalition. The NPC-led Government at the centre opposed this result vehemently. This led to a recount which came up in 1963. The first bitter pill was produced and it was forced down the throat of opposition in the South, who had perceived the hope of winning the next election because of the Census figure in the region.

Military in Nigeria Politics

The attitude of politicians from independence contributed immensely to the fall of the Tafawa Balewa led government. In any form of democracy, the voice of the opposition remains a cardinal point for the success of the ruling party. This is universally accepted as the guiding light in any democracy provided the opposition is given constructive and not destructive criticism of the system[22]. Unfortunately, the case in Nigeria under Balewa led-government within the first few months of his administration had shown its unwillingness to have or live with opposition.

The incursion of military into politics in Nigeria should not be ascribed to British Government's influence at the beginning alone because, Britian gave Nigeria a good and robust system of government that could address our differences irrespective of Nigeria's cultural diversity. The attitude of the Balewa led-government that chooses a model of democracy which failed to institutionalize opposition spelled doom for Nigeria's democracy in the first republic.

The internal crisis between Chief Awolowo and S.L Akintola, the Premier of the Western region which emanated from allegation of maladministration and anti-party activities leveled against Akintola caused a serious uproar in the region. The Party found Akintola guilty and he was asked to resign from his position and membership of the party[23]. The effect of this action led to the crisis which was tagged "operation Weti e" in the Western region.

On this crisis, Awolowo and his close associates were charged for treasonable felony against the Federal Government and verdict was given in September, 1963 and some of them bagged various jailed term ranging from two to ten years in prison[24].

The election of December 1964, was completely boycotted in the Eastern region, the NCNC used its power to ensure that no election was held. This election was partly boycotted in the West, North, Mid-West and Lagos, with the effect that the election results lacked credibility and were nationally unacceptable. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and its Nigerian National Alliance (NNA), single- handedly carried out the elections and accepted it[25]. This total boycott caused political stalemate. The idea of might is right became the guiding principle of Federal Government and this brought in all elections results on January 2, 1965. Based on these results, Balewa was announced as the winner on January 4, 1965. He (Balewa) formed a new government.

The new government was formed, the spillover of the election period continued till the year 1965, which witnessed the worsening of the political situation in Nigeria. The Tiv war against the oppressive Sardauna Government warmed up and showed no sign of abating till January 15, 1966 coup. The Eastern region were given fresh date to vote for their federal legislators, while the Western region people were denied equal right of doing the same thing because they all boycotted the elections.

In the newly formed government under Balewa, corruption was the order of the day. Under this government the security of Courts, the Census Commission, the Electoral

Commission, The Police and the Armed Forces were assailed, assaulted and dragged in the mud. The song of the NPC-led government became the order of the day, that NPC would rule Nigeria for the next Twenty-Five years. The same song is now the slogan of the PDP-led government in Nigeria presently, that PDP will rule for fifty years. The euphoria of this song made the NPC led-government to relegate the aspirations and yearnings of the people to the background. The needs of masses were not considered. On January 15, 1966 the military struck and Balewa's government was toppled in a coup led by Major Chukuwuemeka Nzeogwu[26].

The Coming of Major General J.T Aguiyi Ironsi

The failure of Nzeogwu to galvanize and coordinate the coup throughout Nigeria as planned brought in Ironsi, who never shared the ideology of the revolutionary movement organized by Chukuwuemeka Nzeogwu. The ideal society that was paramount in the mind of the coup plotters of January 15, 1966 did not see the light of the day.

After the execution of the coup, the Southern part of the country was lost to the Federal Government. This made Ironsi emerge as the leader of government in Lagos where the seat of power was then. Nzeogwu gained the control of the Northern part under his control. These scenarios brought in two governments at a time. In a bid to secure the control of the Northern region under the military Government at the centre, a military attaché to London Lieutenant-Colonel Nwawo was specially flown to Nigeria to come speak to Nzeogwu was a known and trusted friend He appealed to Nzeogwu to relinquish power to Ironsi while he would be allowed to be part of his government.

Not only this, Major General Yakubu Gowon also appealed to Nzeogwu to relinquish power because he could not capture the whole country. Although before Nzeogwu agreed to hand over power to Ironsi five conditions was given. These are:

i. A guarantee of safety for himself, his officers who participated in the aborted coup
ii. A guarantee for them of freedom from legal prosecution now, or at any later time.
iii. Compensation to be paid to the families of all officers and men who lost their lives during the coup.
iv. The release of all officers and men who were detained in the Southern part of the country.
v. The assurance that the people whom they fought to remove would not be returned to office.

These five conditions were agreed by both parties through phone conversation with Ironsi in the presence of facilitator, Lt. Colonel Nwawo. Having agreed to join hands with Iron's Government, he handed over power to Lieutenant-Colonel Hassan Katsina. It was a public ceremony. Also Hassan made a brief speech in praise of Nzeogwu's doggedness, selflessness and promised to stand by the principle he fought to realize.

Contrary to the agreement, Nzeogwu had with Nwawo, he landed into harsh, cold and menacing embrace of guns. A whole 84MM Carl Gustav anti-tank Recoilless Rifles, the type that he used to destroy Sardauna's Castle, was mounted upon a land Rover and was fully charged and pointed at him. This marked the end of the revolutionary government envisaged by Nzeogwu and his team in Nigeria. From the airport he was escorted to maximum prison Kirikiri[27].

Ironsi's Government began full-fledged control of Nigeria with the capturing of Nzeogwu. The maladministration of Military Government brought political rivalry between some military who felt the government was engaging in the worse management of government more than the civilian government that was sent away by Nzeogwu and his team.

Nigerian Civil War

Although, many crises accounted for Nigerian's civil war as According to Udida the seeds of Civil War were sown by the 1946 Richard Constitution which created three regions in line with federal system of government[28].

The crisis of Nigerian political elite which emanated from Action Group (AG) crisis of 1962 and also, the census controversy of 13th May, 1962 which brought "big changes" that would end Northern region absolute majority in the Federal House of Representative.

The counter coup of July 29, 1966 that claimed the lives of many military officers in the government of Ironsi affected Eastern part The Tiv war against the oppressive Sardauna Government warmed up and showed no sign of abating till January 15, 1966 coup. The massive killing of Igbo officers and men). The fate of the country hanged in a balance as for three days Nigeria was without a leader. On August 1, 1966 a new Head of State in the person of Lieutenant colonel Yakubu Gowon emerged.

The emergence of Yakubu Gowon as the Head of Government did not favour Odumegwu-Ojukwu also, a lieutenant colonel. Ojukwu argued that Gowon was a junior in the hierarchy of senior officers. Apart from Babafemi Ogundipe and Robert A.Adebayo (who were brigadier and colonel respectively) there were three other senior officers: Imo, Effiong and Njoku (all lieutenant colonels) and all from Eastern region[29]. He argued that it was any of these officers who would have taken over from Ironsi and not Gowon.

The rivalry between Gowon and Ojukwu was the straw that broke the camel's back in the struggle for power in Nigeria's politics among the military officers and this resulted to Civil War in Nigeria for good thirty six months which came to an end when Biafra (proposed republic of secessionist state) was surrendered to General Olusegun Obasnjo on January 12, 1970[30]. After the civil war, the military rule continued in Nigeria till 1979. In October, 1979 the constitution committee consisting of 49 eminent Nigerians presented to the Federal Military Government the draft constitution. The journey to civil rule had been set in motion based on this constitution. On October 1, 1979 the army formally handed over the government to the civilian government led by Aliyu Shehu Sahagari the first Civilian President elected on the platform of National Party of Nigeria (NPN). This marked the beginning of second republic in Nigeria.[31]

The second republic in Nigeria lasted for 4years and 3 months. The military struck again on December 31, 1983 and military rule continued unabatedly for another fifteen years.

Transition Period under Ibrahim Babangida 1985 -1993

Nigeria saw the coming of General Ibrahim Babangida as a relief from the grip of Buhari/Idiagbo regime which came on board in January 1, 1983 because they had never experienced strict adherence to the laws and command of rulers as they did during this regime. With the coming of Babangida, it was a welcome idea for average Nigerians. When General Ibrahim Babangida took over the reins of government as Nigeria's first unelected president on 27th August 1985, he promised to make his country a better place[32]. By the time he was forced out of office eight years later, however, he had made things far worse. For eight years under the manipulation of General Babangida, politics became a never ending spiral of deceit hence; it was a fitting climax that the programme on which an estimated 40 billion Naira was invested ended in a fiasco with the annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election adjudged to be free and fair even by international observers[33]. When Babangida was forced out in an endless transition programme, the then Chairman of Transition Programme Chief Ernest Degunle Shonekan became Head of Interim National Government and "Commander-in-Chief" of the Armed Forces which was not recognized by the constitution of the land.

On this note, the Minister of Defence General Sani Abcha proclaimed himself, the Head of State in a palace coup which claimed no life in November 17, 1993. The sudden death of General Sani Abacha on June 8, 1998 brought in General Abdulsalami Abubakar to take the mantle of leadership. He subsequently handed over the reins of power to a democratically elected government on May 29, 1999. This marked the beginning of the present dispensation.

Nigeria From 1999 – 2010

Nigeria as a State has returned to civil rule since May 29, 1999 but the yearning and aspiration of citizens in term of developmental projects has not been met by the successive governments. Although, there is a general belief that the worse civilian regime is better than a benevolent military regime, because the State guaranteed freedom of expression under democratic rule without fear or favour. Chief Olusegun Obasanjo who voluntarily relinquished power to Aliyu Sheu Sahagari in 1979 returned as a democratically elected President in 1999. Thereafter, late President Musa Yar'adua emerged, he died and his Vice became President on May 25, 2010[34].

The multiplicity of violent crises that have characterized Nigerian politics since the return to civil rule in May 29, 1999 remained a source of worry for all concerned citizens. Major areas that need urgent attention as identified in the 1999 Constitution include: the federal principle, system of government, the state's secularity, fiscal federalism/resources control, local government administration, policing, state electoral commission, electoral system and spate of insecurity in the country[35].

Although, series of committees had come up with resolution on the review of the constitution, amongst them are, Presidential Technical Committee on the Review of the 1999 Constitution was set up with member from the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD), the National Assembly Committee on the Review on the 1999 Constitution, and the National Political Reforms Conference, nothing has been achieved in terms of constitutional review that would have created succor for the citizens[36].

The emergence of democracy since 1999 has not provided needed answer to these numerous problems enumerated; hence what Nigeria had experienced so far is "praetorianism in Nigerian State"[37]. A praetorian state therefore is the one in which the military dominates its political system. Although, we may not have total control of military in all facets of government structures in Nigeria, but reluctance of activists who fought for democracy to participate in the election that ushered in democratic institutions in 1999 became a major setback in good governance.

Ex-Military men and their apologists outnumbered the civilians who really had good intension to run transparent government. Majority of the participants still prefer old method of military government. The system of winners take all had ravaged Nigerian political space; it has created opportunity for money bagged politicians to dominate the terrain. This makes it a business of few people who could afford it.

Conclusion

The politics of Nigeria from independence till date has made every Nigerian to believe in ethnic politics. The structure of Nigeria's politics was laid on ethnic foundation; it is very difficult for any leader in Nigeria to redress it because of the parochial sentiments of each region. The politicians in Nigeria have moved a step forward above ethnic agenda, religious affinity is more pronounced in our polity. In 1993, a Muslim/Muslim emerged on the platform of Social Democratic Party (SDP) as the flag bearer of their party and defeated Muslim/Christian candidate of National Republican Convention (NRC). That was a democratic institution that people would like to identify with. Since 1999, Nigeria had divided so much on religious cleavage than we ever experienced in Nigeria.

Since politics remained the only instrument used as the authoritative allocation of values in society, Nigeria as a state must ensure that politics is set on the right track. To give credible and acceptable platform to all Nigerians, the political elites must allow tolerance of opposition since it is a part of good governance in advanced democracy. Acceptability of opposition as part of good governance would create equal opportunity for all citizens.

The politics of winners take all would not help Nigeria to develop, the aspiration of the ruling party in Nigeria is to remain in power for fifty years. The political elites should look at what caused the uproar in the camp of first republic because of the mindset they had to rule for twenty-five years unchecked. If there is a level playing ground for the oppositions to sell their manifesto, the masses would have alternatives and that will create competition for good governance.

The constitution of Nigeria remained unacceptable to Nigerians because majority felt that peoples' constitution must be drafted by the people. The current constitution was drafted by the military regime without meaningful input of the generality hence, the People are demanding for autochthonous constitution. Successive governments had set up series of conferences to come up with acceptable documents but none is yet to see the light of the day. If a genuine constitution devoid of ethnic and tribal sentiment is drafted the instrument of government will work.

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TRANSITION POLITICS IN TARABA STATE: AN ANALYSIS FROM 1993

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Abstract
The return of civilian rule in Nigeria as a nation and Taraba as a new State in Nigeria in 1991, made people felt that a new era had come. They thought the era of mal-administration by the military government would be buried with the end of military regime. The high hopes of making the transition from military regime to democratic government hinged on the introduction of democratic principles and respect for rule of law. The expectation of having basic amenities, which could translate to economic development, have remained a mirage. The only excuse given by the political class or politicians is that we are in a learning process; but they have enriched themselves at the expense of the masses –creating a huge gap in the society with the poor masses on one side and the rich politicians on the other. This work used the literary-historical method to investigate transition politics in Taraba, particularly the role of indigence in the entrenchment of democratic principles and governance for the benefit of Tarabians. It has also interviewed various groups of people such as the politicians, civil servants, business people and the masses where necessary in order that the concept of transitional politics in Taraba State be clearly understood. This work enlightens the public on the transitional trends in Taraba State politics through advocating for liberal politics and fair governance believing that adhering to these suggestions would make the goals and objectives of transition politics in Taraba State to be achieved than put in the Atlantic.

Introduction

Taraba State, created on the 27th August 1991, has been considered the brainchild of the military government. The military establishment in Nigeria was essentially created and equipped to serve the interests of the Colonial powers. Because of this, the military could not set out as a catalyst of Nigerian nationalism as did the Western countries.

However, after independence in 1960, the military in the country suddenly emerged as patriots armed to defend territorial integration and obey the command of the federal government. The up-surges of "coup de' tat" and military rule in the country turned the military officers in Nigerian into not only politicians in uniform, but a socio-political and economic class.[1] This is because their ascendance to political power and long stay in government detached them from military professionalism and drastically altered their socio-material status in society.

It can stated that anytime the military took over power, there has always been a concerted effort by Nigerians as a whole and indigence of Taraba to try and instill a democratically elected government. Such understanding can be clearly seen within the activities of groups ranging from civil society to political parties in Taraba particularly from 1993 to the present. The desire for a transition from a military to a democratically elected government has always been achieved but as to whether the political class have met the aspiration of the populace remains an issue of debate.

Within this state of uncertainty, this work enlightens the general public on the dynamic state of political transitions in Taraba State as it could be applied to the Nigerian context generally. It has considered the civilian aspiration for a return to democratic rule in Taraba giving clear insights on the role of civil society and trade union as Taraba State witnessed a return of democracy. It has also stated the electoral processes in Taraba State since 1999 as core facts towards the transition which triggered the response of the military as the State witnessed a transitional political overtones.

Conceptual Clarifications

There are general meanings or understandings to the words "transition politics". To fit into this discourse, it is instructive to review and situate these concepts in the contest of our analysis. Most often transition politics has served as triggers of violence. According to United States Institute of Peace, this initiative aims to increase the capacity of key stakeholders to identify these triggers during political transition, to build positive relationships among civil society, policymakers, and regional and international organizations, and to contribute to the academic and policy literature on peaceful political transition in Africa.[2] M. E. Blade sees transition politics as the shifting and handing over of political power to democratically elected civilian government.[3] The understanding of transition politics postulated by Blade as being a switch of political power to democratic regime can be challenged; hence, even within the democratic reign of civilian government, transition can occur irrespective of military or democratic reigns.

It is within this working understanding that one or two instances for clarity would be the handing over to a democratically elected government from Naval Captain Adayemi Afolahan January 1992 to Jolly T. Nyame and further from Col. Aina Joseph Owoniyi to Jolly T. Nyame on May 29, 1999 and also Jolly T. Nyame in 2007 to Danbaba D. Suntai and also to Alhaji Garba Umar who was piloting the affairs of the State in acting capacity before the court judgment which brought Ahl. Sani Abubakar into power as the deputy Governor and later the acting Governor of the State. Transition politics is further viewed as an emergency or change of government when a political void has been created.[4]

It is believed that the concept "analysis" is common to a range of learning theories and therefore carries various meanings and differing significance.[5] The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary contributes on this concept of analysis as a study of something by examining its parts and their relationship.[6] Analysis, in this work, can be seen as a detailed examination of the elements or structure of something; a systematic examination and evaluation of data or information by breaking it into its component parts to uncover their interrelationships.

Civilian Aspiration for a Return to Democratic Rule in Taraba

In general, authoritarian regimes in Nigeria have encouraged militarism in democratic rule; the use of the structure of security agencies namely: the military establishment, the police, gendarmeries, secret services, para-military unities to oppress enemies is prevalent.[7] Indeed, any rigorous overview of the performance of military ruler-ship in Taraba can hardly be flattering. Since the major coup of January 15, 1966, the Nigerian military has never been the same again. Rapid politicization, which gradually led to the abandonment of professionalism in favour of struggles, often bitter, for power, wealth and fame, has damage democratic reputation and integrity. Deep fissures and cleaverages ensured today so that the Nigerian military is little more than an assorted array of conspirational groups whenever balance of forces is favourable in attempting a seizure of power. Shortly after independence, the initial supranational outlook has given way to a deeply divided organization.[8]

While there may be a tinge of exaggeration in the claim that "the greatest danger" (to Taraba) remains that of the army fragmenting on regional lines. Civilians in Taraba State were anxious and this triggered the fragmentation that democracy would regain a permanent stay amidst long-time democratic aspirations. This quest for democratic and transitional politics enabled some associations like "Concern Tarabians", Civil Society, Trade Union and academic associations which were responsible for contributing towards ensuring the return of democracy in Taraba as it was being played in the entire nation.

The Role of Civil Society and Trade Union in the Return of Democracy

The characteristics of the civil society shed some light on the struggle for the return of democracy in Nigeria as a whole and Taraba in particular. The various components of the civil societies that have been identified are democratic organizations. Their operations were guided by rules and regulations. They elected their leadership democratically. They also pursed some noble objectives vis-a-vis the national interest as distinct from the ruler's interests

Nigerian history is bereft with contrasting political climate. Since independence in 1960, the country has been under military dictatorship for twenty –nine years, while democratic rule spanned for the remaining years to the present. The long years of military regime, though an aberration, has nevertheless featured prominently in Nigeria's political history. In view of the dictatorial tendency of such military administration, trade unions have a herculean task in responding to politics and unpopular programmes of such regimes. The first challenge posed to trade unions was with regards to how they can mobilize their members to agitate against unpopular and repressive programmes of military administration. According to Garba Umar (a politician) said examples abound of and instances of how the sons of Taraba joined in the struggle was via trade unions who successfully mobilized workers for action meant to achieve their emancipation and improvement in the general condition of members. He noted that Trade Union Movement attained its highest crescendo of activities during military dictatorship.[9]

While trade union activities were heightened under previous military regimes of General Gowon (1967 – 1975), General Murtala/Obasanjo (1976 – 1979), General Babangida (1985 - 1993), it was during General Abacha's regime (1993 - 1998) that trade union witnessed active involvement in the struggle both for the improvement in the living standard of members and restoration of democratic rule. For example, in the country in which citizens were political and socially harassed, repressed and hungry.[10] Wages were generally low. However, the leadership of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) were collaborators of the military Junta; hence it could not muster any resistance against the military government.

Joseph Dauda[11] (a business man) also contributing, pointed out that the sons of Taraba who lived in places like Lagos, Benin, Rivers, in the experience of the struggle towards revalidation of true annulled June 12 1993 presidential election during the military era. He Noted that the struggle was spear headed by workers unions in the oil sector namely, National Union of Petroleum and Gas Worker (NUPENG) headed by Frank Koliri and Petroleum and Gas Workers Association of Nigeria (PEMGASSA) while the strike was effective with regards to full participation of a large number of members, it never the less failed to achieve its goals of de-annulling the election. However, the strike further strengthened the unions and made members conscious that they could achieve a lot by remaining steadfast with their unions.

Commenting further, Sarki[12] (a politician) contributed on the role played by Tarabians and personalities involved in this struggle in the return of democratic rule in the nation and the State have this to say. Tarabians have contributed to the return of democracy in Nigeria as a whole and Taraba in particular, stressing that notable politician from Taraba have participated in this struggle through associations like the People Democratic Movement (PDM) which metamorphose into the People Democratic Party (PDP). To mention but few, he outlined the names of Alh. Abubakar Sarkin Ayuka and Alh. Habu Fari, all sons of Taraba State, who played active role to ensure that democratic rule retune in the country and how these sons and daughters of the State will benefit from democratic government. He established in his critique that they form part of the pioneer members that brought in Governor Jolly T. Nyame into power in 1992 and 1999.

To support the above point, Mohammad[13] (a politician) in his contribution stated some few organizations through which these sons and daughters of Taraba participated

in the struggle for the return of democratic rule both in the State and the nation at large. He identified associations such as ''Taraba State Concerns Citizens'', ''Association for Democracy and Transformation of Taraba State'' (emphasis mine). That these few among other organizations or societies have played a vital role in their participation of the call for the return of democracy in Taraba and the nation at large; that they were able to go across the State and mobilized 168 wards in the State, teaching and encouraging the indigence of the State to participate in the politics of the State and nation at large. They still functioned through the organization of seminar, enlightenment campaigns like visiting schools to educated students, market men and women, labour organization, association, and non-governmental organizations etc.

Sons and daughters of Taraba who lived and were teaching in other Universities across the country were not left out in their contribution to the active role Tarabians played in the return of democratic government in the State. When asked, did these sons and daughters of Taraba State who lived in other States of the country and were teaching in universities join in the struggle towards the call for democratic government to return in the nation? Grace Madaki[14] (a civil servant) clearly said yes.

Those sons and daughters of the State who were in universities across the country contributed in the struggle through the organization of seminars, campaign enlightenment to see that democratic policies and programmes have a structural base programme in the State. Outlining some of such individuals who participated in this call and struggle, she outlines some personas which are the likes of Prof. Sa'ad Abubakar, Prof. Abdulmumuni Sa'ad, Prof. Michael Nuku, Dr. Ahmed Jalingo, Dr. Abbas Bashri, and Saleh Umar to mention but few. As ASSU elements, they have helped to dispense democracy in Taraba State.

The Electoral Processes in Taraba State since 1999

The problems of democratic transition in Taraba State, as in other States are deep rooted and well known.[15] Election presents a core component of problems. In the colonial era, Nigeria proved unable to organize credible elections acceptable to all democratic players, particularly the opposition parties. But under the fledgly fourth Republic, Nigeria as whole and Taraba State in particular, has, for the first time in its post –independence experience, been able to hold four consecutive elections at regular intervals which are (1999, 2003, 2007, and 2011).

The fourth republic which emanated from the preceding republics which are the first, second, and the aborted third, was inaugurated on May 29, 1999 with Jolly T. Nyame as its first elected governor. This marked the transition from military to civilian regime; the republic has further witnessed a democratic elected representative.

The second electoral process (2003 election); within the fourth republic witnessed a multiple creation and registration of political parties. These newly registered political parties alongside the already existing three; the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance for Democracy (AD), and All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP) are shown in the table below.[16]

Alliance for Democracy	AD
Peoples Democratic Party	PDP
All Peoples Party	APP
Democratic Advance Movement	DAM
Movement for Democracy and Justice	MDJ
National Solidarity Movement	NSM
Peoples Redemption Party	PRP
United Democratic Party	UDP
United Peoples Party	UPP
National Democratic Movement	NDM

Nigeria Millennium Party	NMP
Nigeria Labour Party	NLP
United Peoples Party	UPP
Nigeria Liberation Party	NLP
Peoples democratic Congress	PDC
National United Party of Nigeria	NUPN
Democratic Alternative	DA
Peoples Liberation Party	PLP
National Development Party of Nigeria	NDPN
Community Party of Nigeria	CPN
Minority Rights Party	MRP
Mass Democratic Movement	MDM
Redemption Coalition Party of Nigeria	RCPN
All Nigeria Peoples Party	ANPP
Democratic Advance Party	DAP
Nigeria Renaissance Party	NRP
National Restoration Democratic Party	NRDP
Change Nigeria Party	CNP
Party of National Unity	PNU
National Democratic Equity Vanguard	NDEV
All Nigeria Party	ANP

Table showing list of Political Parties in Nigeria at the Fourth Republic

Political parties and politicians have dominated the terrain of Taraba politics since 1999 to date; they operated a system whereby their political parties were in essence more like private clubs that utilized the State treasury. They did not promote any defined policies and programmes for economic development to be achieved and developed by the generality of the members.

The First Election of 1999

The first election under the current democratization process in Taraba State took place in 1999. Founding elections in Nigeria, usually the first is democratic transition process, have been found to exhibit certain features that tended to inhibit the democratization process. These features included the landslide victory, regulation of results by losers, and poor administration of elections.[17] The 1999 Taraba State elections shared all these negative features that was captured in almost all the states of the federation.

Over the course of three months (December 1998-February 1999), Taraba State had four rounds of elections. These were the local government council elections of 5th December 1998, State House of Assembly and gubernatorial elections of 7th January 1999, National Assembly election of 20th February 1999, and the presidential election 27th February 1999. These elections were contested by the three registered political parties which were the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), All People Party (APP) – later All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) and Alliance for Democracy (AD). The Peoples Democratic Party emerged victorious in producing and forming the government of the State as is formed in the national level also. Although these parties claimed to be national in outlook, each maintained dominance in specific geographical –ethnic domains. At the presidential election, Chief Olusegun Obasanjo of the PDP was declared the winner and the duly elected president of Nigeria, while at the gubernatorial elections, Rev. Jolly T. Nyame same of the PDP, was declared the winner and the duly elected governor of the State.[18] The PDP extended its dominance to all other elections at the National, State and Local Government levels, both in executive and legislative elections.

The election results were challenged as in the case of Senator Joel Ikenya and Danbaba Danfulani Suntai, the gubernatorial candidate of the ACN in the 2011 election. There were pockets of protest regarding the credibility of the elections, the most notable being the litigation filed by the defeated candidates, who challenged the results of the election. The elections were not credible, as attested by reports of local and international observers including the Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) the Carter Center, National Democratic Institute (NDI), International Republican Institute (IRI) and the EU. All reported widespread irregularities in the elections.[19] Protest were moderate as major stake holders in the elections – including political parties, candidates, and civil society decided to sheath their swords, possibly appeased by the renewed promise of democracy.[20] This can be said to be because the election was meant essentially to disengage the military from politics, which not much attention was paid to its credibility. These no doubts have brought about the military responds.

For the fact that the military have enjoyed and have stayed in power, controlling and governing the government of the nation at large and Taraba in particular, the willingness to stay out of total control by the military was not there and this brought about their various responses in deferent intervals against these civilians struggle towards the return of democratic government in the country and the State. Writers on the subject saw military intervention in Nigeria democratic rule as a result of the attempt on the part of the military to act as agents of modification. Other writers explained the causes of military coups in certain countries in terms of tensions within the army itself, tensions caused by lack of promotion prospects or by intertribal rivalries.

There are many reasons that are often given as responsible for "coup de' tats." Military leader's explanations are represented in the books by Ocran A.K.[21] and Dudley B.J. [22] Their argument basically was that coups are reactive in nature, to correct alleged lapses in the General administrations of the country concerned. It is more popularly understood to mean a salvage mission undertaken by the country's military to save that country from the hands of a civilian or military leadership perceived not to be serving the large interest of the nation. Based on this perception, Yohanna Dickson came to the scene on December 9, 1993 because of the sense of military duty to the nation taught them that it was time to chase out the "ten percents", who had allowed tribalism and regionalism to thrive at the expense of the overall interest of the Nigerian nation.

The military leaders therefore often accused the civilians of mismanagement, waste and unwise spending, there by bringing the State to the brink of economic crises, social dislocation and political chaos. There accusations are made publicly by coup leaders to justify and rationalize their seizure of political power. This has become a fashionable explanation of legitimizing themselves in government. The question, however, as to whether the military itself was less guilty of the crimes said to have been committed by civilian political leaders is another level of analysis.

There is also the issue of economic malaise under the preceding regime. This factor is closely related to the one discussed above severe austerity measure under the preceding administration often attracted strong criticisms from the urbanized articulate pressure and interest groups in the State, most especially when such austere policies of government directly affect this enlighten group. In such circumstance, the military more often than not used the situation to plan and carry out a "coup de tat."[23] Thus in addition to its specialized training, a heightened political awareness of then military itself put it in a position to challenge the major policies of a civilian administration, particularly when such policies fail to satisfy the desires and expectations of the military officers. Intellectuals do not often subscribe to these view-points. For example, Dudley affirms that the military intervention of 1966 occurred as a result of the rivalry between different ethnic groups in Nigeria.[24]

The military is an institution that lay absolute emphasis in orders, elaborate directives and well-laid contingency plans. It is an institution that managed violence via

the utilization of brute instrument of war. The military is the only institution that is charged with the responsibility of ensuring territorial integrity, eliminating threats to national security and development, maintaining law and order.[25]

Nigeria as a whole and Taraba in particular, however, has suffered so much under the military rule. This was a season when all form of opposition were suppressed and alternative opinions were discouraged. The strategy of reckless violation and gross abuse of fundamental human rights, coupled with intolerance of opposition which manifested in constant harassment of human rights crusaders, promulgation of obnoxious decrees, ousting the jurisdiction of legally constituted courts, arbitrary disqualification of electoral results in order to remain in the military completely stifled accountability and transparency among the political classes.[26]

Conclusion

It has been observed that Nigeria as a whole and Taraba in particular has suffered so much under the military rule. With the strategy of reckless violation and gross abuse of fundamental human rights, coupled with intolerance of opposition, the political terrain has witnessed a transition from the military regime to the democratic and within the leadership of Rev. Jolly T. Nyame to Danbaba Suntai and to Alhaji Garba Umar. In the prevailing circumstances, in the State and the country at large, various social groups start to question the real basis of the Nigerian Union. They organized opposition movements which were led by the workers Union. Even with the quest for civilian return in the guise of transitional political involvements, the democratic system has not been able to achieve its strategic and planned objectives which leaves people in the "dark than before" and has resulted in segmenting the human society into the super-rich and the poor as it was in the regimental or dictatorship system of governance and the masses.

Therefore there is need for liberal politization to extend the pressure and to ensure the policies of the opposition parties are formulated and executed. Also, there is need for a fair system of governance which will enable the masses contribute their quota for the extension of available system to encourage peaceful coexistence among the politicians and the masses on interactive grounds. When this is done, we can be sure that the goals and objectives of transition politics in Taraba State can be stratified than being in the ashes of an old woman.

Endnotes

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